

Thirsting to Write

*Kettly Mars's Aux Frontières de la soif
and the Haitian Postearthquake Novel*

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Abstract

What constitutes a Haitian postearthquake novel? Does such a work require the author to present to a greater or lesser degree people and situations that relate to the disaster and its ongoing effects? Is a work written after the earthquake but which does not mention it still a postearthquake novel? This article engages with some of the issues facing Haitian writers following the earthquake through a close discussion of a novel that does in fact write directly of the disaster and its aftermath: Kettly Mars's *Aux frontières de la soif*.

Keywords

Haiti – earthquake – literature – memory

What constitutes a Haitian postearthquake novel? Does such a work require the author to present to a greater or lesser degree people and situations that relate to the disaster and its ongoing effects? Is a work written after the earthquake but which does not mention it still a postearthquake novel? Haitian novels published since 2010 in fact fall into two broad categories: those that write about the earthquake, and those that do not. In the former category are works such as Marvin Victor's *Corps mêlés*, Makenzy Orcel's *Les Immortelles*, and Gary Victor's *Le Sang et la mer*, while the latter includes Lyonel Trouillot's *La belle amour humaine*, Kettly Mars and Leslie Péan's *Le Prince noir de Lillian Russell*, and Évelyne Trouillot's *La mémoire aux abois*. This article engages with some

of the issues facing Haitian writers following the earthquake through a close discussion of a novel that does in fact write directly of the disaster and its aftermath: Kettly Mars's *Aux frontières de la soif*, a work that presents a writer figure who struggles to write and who appears traumatized by the event and uncertain of his place and role in a time of disaster.

In an important postearthquake article, Junot Díaz writes on the various meanings associated with the term apocalypse: first, the real or imagined end of the world; second, the catastrophes that are said to resemble the final end time, such as Chernobyl or the Holocaust; and third, a disruptive event that leads to revelation.¹ Quoting James Berger, Díaz argues that in order for the event to be truly apocalyptic, it must bring to light “the true nature of what has been brought to end.” Díaz’s interest lies in this third definition, the ways in which disasters are revelations, for if catastrophes have a value it is that in causing things to fall apart “they also give us a chance to see the aspects of our world that we as a society seek to run from, that we hide behind veils of denials.” In particular, Díaz refers to the unequal power structures, corruption, and injustice that create the conditions for a disaster to have such devastating consequences.

Apocalypse is to Díaz “a darkness that gives us light,” which invites the observer of a disaster to see in the dark and become in his terms a “ruin-reader.” The disaster, Díaz says, revealed Haiti to the world, exposing the extreme living conditions of the vast majority of the population, the damage to the natural environment, and the weaknesses of political and social institutions. As such, disasters “don’t just happen,” and are “made possible” by the social conditions in which a natural event takes place. Díaz cites the Asian tsunami of 2004 as one such “social disaster,” made possible by the destruction of coral reefs and mangrove forests, which act as natural barriers to tsunamis. Hurricane Katrina was also for Díaz a social disaster that highlighted the economic marginalization of African Americans and the Bush administration’s decision to sell to developers hundreds of square miles of wetlands, thereby devastating New Orleans’s natural defenses. Díaz places the Haitian event within this context of contemporary global disaster. Haiti is for Díaz exemplary, in that its history can be read as a “long road to ruination,” in which are complicit the French colonials, foreign capitalists, the United States, Haitian dictators, and the United Nations.

1 Junot Díaz, “What Disasters Reveal,” *Boston Review*, May 1, 2011, <https://www.bostonreview.net/junot-diaz-apocalypse-haiti-earthquake> (accessed November 13, 2013). Quotations hereafter are from Díaz 2011, unless otherwise indicated.

Díaz sees the Haitian event as, in large part, a consequence of the “capitalist experiment” that has rendered Haiti all the more vulnerable to the vagaries of financial and other markets and led to a drop in per capita GDP from around \$2,100 in 1980 to \$1,045 in 2009. This is, he says, a “cannibal stage” in the history of modern capitalism, in which the enrichment of the elites is achieved at the expense of all other economic and social groups: the middle classes, working classes, and the poorest sectors. Haiti is a prescient, even prophetic case in that it was the site of the plantation “big bang” that set the world on the road to its current condition, also termed by Díaz as a “zombie stage,” where entire nations are transformed by “economic alchemy into not-quite alive.”

The Haitian apocalypse is not to Díaz the end of this particular road; rather, he sees it again as a form of prophecy of a future general economic, social, and environmental breakdown. Such an outcome is the “logical conclusion” of the current course of the planet, as he puts it and would enact “the transformation of our planet into a Haiti,” for “Haiti is not only the most visible victim of our civilization—Haiti is also a sign of what is to come.”

To avoid such a conclusion, Díaz insists that we “must stare into the ruins—bravely, resolutely—and we must see. And then we must act.” Writing a year after the earthquake, Díaz veers between hope and despair for the future prospects of Haiti and the broader world, and ends on a suitably ambiguous note, believing that the world will at some point “heed the ruins,” but not before the deaths of many millions more.

Ruins reading is an apposite term for the work this article carries out. To read ruins involves, as in Díaz’s essay, a form of divination, an attempt to read the future in the wreckage of the present. There are also risks involved in reading contemporary Haitian writing through the ruins. The term postearthquake Haitian literature may appear as an obvious and natural descriptor for writing since 2010, but it also is potentially a trap for authors and readers alike, in that it imposes a label and a category on a diverse range of works, some of which deal directly with the earthquake, while others do not at all. Authors should not be obliged to write about the earthquake or any other theme, nor should readers expect to find in every written work references to the disaster. In this sense, ruins reading risks reducing Haitian writing to a single theme and thereby, one might say, ruining the reading.

In a session at a conference at Florida State University in February 2013, Kettly Mars talked about precisely these issues.² Referring to her latest novel,

2 “Haiti in a Globalized Frame” conference, Florida State University, February 14, 2013. The panel was a joint book launch that featured Kettly Mars, Dany Laferrière, and Rodney Saint-Éloi.

Aux frontières de la soif, she expressed her displeasure that the work had been classed a postearthquake novel. She said that, following the earthquake, she had vowed to herself that she would not write a novel about the earthquake, because that is what was expected of all writers. A year after the earthquake, however, she was on a tap-tap on the way to the port to take a boat to the island of Gonave, and looked to the hills to see the makeshift camp that had been established there shortly after the earthquake. She asked about the camp, and was told it was known as Canaan, a name she had heard of, but had apparently not seen in such close proximity. “Profoundly shocked,” she subsequently became “obsessed” by the place, and the later writing of the novel “imposed itself” on her; she did not choose to write it, she says. Her interest in the novel, she said, is not the facts and figures of the disaster, nor even the dead, but the lives of those who live with the disaster, across divides of class, color, and gender. *Aux frontières de la soif* is thus an important work in that it incorporates into its account of the disaster the dilemmas and reservations of an author figure, and makes the question of writing one of its most pressing and contradictory themes. The novel is perhaps unique among works since 2010 in its exploration of the stakes of writing and the condition of writers in a time of disaster. As such, the work itself exists in a sense at a kind of frontier, that between the writer and the devastated reality that seems to at once render meaningless any form of art, and challenge artists to engage with it, and as Díaz suggests, read critically the ruins.

As Mars suggests, *Aux frontières de la soif* is something of a book of mourning, but it is primarily a work that situates itself among the living, those in the camps as well as the more privileged classes. This focus on the living is signaled in the book’s dedication to “the survivors of the earthquake of 12 January 2012.” The novel is less interested in the past than in the present and the future, in reconstruction and potential salvation, rather than revisiting the historical causes of the disaster.

That said, its themes and motifs seem to echo certain longstanding figures in Haitian writing. Most notably, the theme of drought and thirst, both literal and metaphorical, appears to recall Roumain’s *Gouverneurs de la rosée*, only here there is no mythical returning hero to save the community, only a flawed, self-destructive writer figure who appears powerless to stop his descent into complete dissolution. Also, more obliquely, the motif of frontiers, related to shifting identities, and the prominence of prostitution call to mind Alexis’s *L’Espace d’un cillement*. The events of Alexis’s novel take place in a suburb of Port-au-Prince called the Frontier, which is a kind of cultural threshold or meeting place, an indeterminate, transitional space in between national spaces, chiefly Haiti and Cuba (Munro 2007:64–65). In Mars’s novel, too, the newly created

camp Canaan is a site of crossing, an intermediate zone on the peripheries but at the same time central to the emerging reality of postearthquake Haiti. The place and its people are at the frontiers of this new reality, apparently unable to look back and yet hesitant before the future, which appears like a daunting threshold, a border beyond which seems to lie an uncertain, unknowable time to come.

The book is set in January 2011, one year after the disaster, and opens with the protagonist Fito Belmar traveling by car to a rendezvous with two men. It is a journey into darkness, which is, again, both literal and metaphorical: when the two men board Fito's Jeep, "the night engulfs the vehicle's cabin" (Mars 2013:13). Indeed, it is a voyage to what may be termed the contemporary heart of darkness: the makeshift camps that sprang up following the earthquakes. As he drives, the "vegetation progressively disappeared" (Mars 2013:13), which suggests that this is a journey not only from (muted) light to darkness, but also from (damaged, diminished) nature to an arid, de-natured place and existence. The men pass first Corail, a relatively ordered camp, set up by foreign soldiers. Their destination is however Canaan, which is by contrast, "perfect anarchy," a sprawling encampment high up on the hillside (Mars 2013:14). Canaan is largely a creation of the earthquake, a site near Cité Soleil to which thousands of the city's displaced population fled following the disaster, despite there being no infrastructure, running water or sanitation.³ The biblical connotations of the name suggest a displaced people, driven out of its home territory, and into a form of exile. The arid, barren landscape reinforces the sense that this is a kind of desert, populated by a people cast out from the city. A "dry and lonely place," it was claimed as a "promised land" on the day following the earthquake by a few hundred displaced people (Mars 2013:15). To Fito, it is a name associated with ideas of "exodus and desert, of milk and honey, but above all of bile and malediction" (Mars 2013:156). It is moreover to him a "country lost at the frontiers of thirst" (Mars 2013:157), a reference to the book's title and to the idea that individuals and communities are living at the limits, and that everyone "thirsts" in different ways. A year later, there are 80,000 living in the camp, and it has its own economy, with everything for sale from water to bread, to security service, drugs, and sex.

It is for sex that Fito travels to Canaan, which to him is a "heaven in hell," which offers "an unspeakable joy," in the form of young girls forced to pros-

3 See <http://www.caribjournal.com/2012/08/17/in-haitis-land-of-canaan-a-promised-land-empty-of-promise/> (accessed March 5, 2013), and <http://undertentshaiti.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/rapport-de-recherche-sur-les-camps.pdf> (accessed 4 April 2013).

titute themselves (Mars 2013:17). In Canaan, he “is no one ... nowhere,” lost and escaped from his own world and his concerns over his work in disaster reconstruction, his writer’s block, and his failing personal relationships (Mars 2013:17). This is his sixth visit; each one is a “beginning and an end” for him, an experience that leaves him “exalted, but uneasy” (Mars 2013:18). In the body of the pre-adolescent girl he finds a form of salvation, and a means of satiating his thirst; her flesh is likened to “the head of a spring,” a reference that further recalls the idea of drought, and more indirectly the themes and motifs of *Gouverneurs de la rosée*, only here the wholesome lovemaking of Manuel and Annaïse becomes a tragic episode of abuse and despair (Mars 2013:21).

For all that his visits to Canaan render him by definition a pedophile, the novel does not set up a straightforward moral context in which to judge the protagonist. Rather, it creates a kind of intimacy with Fito, through narrative techniques such as free indirect discourse, and through presenting some of the factors that seem to have pushed him to his own frontiers, the very limits of himself as a person. Perhaps most significantly, he is in mourning for friends lost during the earthquake: he wonders how he will replace his friend Jacques, and asks himself, in free indirect discourse “When would he be able to mourn?” (Mars 2013:25). Also, when asked by his friend Franck about his visits to Canaan, he does not know how to respond, but thinks immediately of the cracks left by the earthquake in his ceiling, that he knows “by heart,” and wonders why he has not repaired the cracks a year after they appeared (Mars 2013:78). He feels a degree of survivor guilt, and wonders why his ceiling held out while Jacques’s did not (Mars 2013:78). This is significant as it suggests he has not yet begun to properly mourn the dead, and that he is still, a year after the earthquake, in a kind of shock.

One of Mars’s strengths as an author is that she considers in great depth and with great acuity some of the underlying issues that surface in times of crisis, most notably the sexual relations that are often distorted by such events, or indeed further distorted, as she is careful to suggest that the crises largely emphasize already existing patterns of sexuality and social relations. Thus, Fito’s sorties to Canaan are presented as part of a broader tendency on behalf of “those bourgeois gentlemen of a certain age to quench their nostalgia, their frustrations and their anxiety over aging in the nubile bodies of young so-called orphan girls. Who liked to get up close to the people, to balance themselves with the smell, the words, the vibrations of the children of the people.”⁴ The sexual relations thus indicate something of the uneven social

4 Mars 2013:26. Fito’s friends are later described as being fundamentally similar to him, “loving

and cultural relations between the middle class and the poor. The latter, for all their marginalization, are still implicitly considered the “heart” of the nation, while Canaan is to Fito a place of birth and belonging, a “womb” as he puts it (Mars 2013:26). In a sense, Mars explores in this novel the reverse side of the sexual relations that she presents in *Saisons sauvages*: the lower-classes’ apparent fascination for the light-skinned bourgeois woman (Mars 2010). In this case, it is the bourgeois male’s desire for the poor young female that is presented. In both cases, one senses that history creates social tensions and unequal living relations that are played out though not ultimately resolved through sexuality. Times of crisis—the Duvalier period in *Saisons sauvages* or the postearthquake moment in this novel—accentuate these underlying relations and indeed push them and those caught up in them to the limits, opening up in Fito in particular the “fault line at the center of his being” (Mars 2013:28).

Fito’s sexual impotence—he says he can only “be a man” with the young girls from Canaan (Mars 2013:26)—is related to his other major issue: his inability to write. The author of one highly successful novel, he has not written anything for five years, and suffers from a case of writer’s block that leads him to drink to excess (Mars 2013:30). Alcohol is more generally used in the novel to block out memory and to escape from the present; in a later restaurant scene, the narrator describes how “ice cubes clinked in glasses of forgetting” (Mars 2013:50). By its nature, however, alcohol does little to satisfy the various forms of thirst that the novel explores. In Fito’s case, it does not help him to rediscover the “obsession” that led him to write his first novel, and he “was dying slowly” from that unsatisfied need (Mars 2013:33). It appears that his obsession with the young girls of Canaan is related to the unfulfilled need to write, that the former are means of satiating the latter. This is quite a provocative idea, that writing can be in some senses a substitute for sex, and vice versa. Also, it seems to raise the issue of the writer figure’s relationship to the people, and to suggest that writing may itself be a form of exploitation, especially when one writes of a people in such a desperate condition. This issue is raised directly when Fito argues with his partner and she accuses him of exploiting the people’s suffering. “Because now you have found a juicy contract thanks to the earthquake,” she says, “and are making money on the backs of those poor people who have lost everything, you think you are something” (Mars 2013:70). The novel in effect

fresh flesh, and saving their last illusions between the thighs of the false school kids or the semi-virgins that one found a dime a dozen on the streets of Port-au-Prince” (Mars 2013:7).

explores the ambivalent situation of the writer and writing in an extreme social situation. What is the worth of writers and writing in postearthquake Haiti, the novel seems to ask.

This question is further explored through the character Tatsumi, a female Japanese scholar of Francophone Caribbean literature, who arrives in Haiti to write a story on the country a year after the earthquake. A writer herself, she makes her living from working on the Caribbean, and in this case her work is given more prominence through the disaster, and as such her position is somewhat similar to Fito's. Just as one is led to reflect on the worth of creative writing in postearthquake Haiti, so scholarly work is presented as a fundamentally ambivalent activity, feeding off and in a sense thirsting for the increased attention and prominence that the earthquake brings to Haiti, and by extension to scholars working on Haiti. She is immediately related to the book's central metaphor through the statement that "Beneath her little innocent air, she was without a doubt thirsting for strong sensations" (Mars 2013:32). Her thirst is related to Fito, who she thinks is a "wonderful writer," and to Haiti itself, a year after the earthquake. There is a form of doubled or reversed exoticism at play, in that the "Oriental" woman considers Haiti to be something of an exotic other, and a place of possible sexual encounter (with Fito), while in Haiti she stands out as different and other, an "exotic bird," as one of Fito's friend describes her (Mars 2013:40). To Fito, she is difficult to fully comprehend; she retains an inscrutability that unsettles him, and makes him wonder "where he stood" with her (Mars 2013:44). Perhaps more disconcertingly, she is obliquely related to the young girls that Fito desires, in that she is described as "without age," and with the body of a child, a "woman child" as she is described (Mars 2013:34).

Despite the misery and suffering that exist there, Canaan is also something of an exotic escape for Fito. When he goes there, he finds himself speaking the language of the people, in "a world with different codes from his own, which assaulted and fascinated him" (Mars 2013:82). In Canaan, he "let his masks slip, he was like them, he was them, without protocols or falseness" (Mars 2013:82). He seeks there a cure for the "illness of the soul" that he suffers from, a refuge in the "innocence" of the young girls, even if he has to "profane" that innocence to satisfy his own thirst (Mars 2013:82). On his seventh visit to Canaan he has a kind of revelation that seems to shake him out of his obsession with the place and the young girls. He pulls his car into a gas station and is struck by the everyday activities that go on there: the attendants selling gas, people buying water and ice, the music coming from the snack bar (Mars 2013:83). "There was light and life" in the gas station, and he "marvels" at it, taking deep breaths "as if he was emerging from a long apnea" (Mars 2013:84). Shaken from his previous

condition, he calls an old friend to set up a trip to his beach house, and invites Tatsumi to accompany him.

In contrast to Fito, Tatsumi is able to write, and her article is “taking shape” following her visits to Léogâne and Jacmel (Mars 2013:99). She will not however complete the article before returning to Tokyo, for she feels that she needs “distance between her and the reality that she had touched with her own hands” (Mars 2013:99). While she needs physical space between her and her subjects in order to write, Fito, it appears, requires time before he can write of the earthquake. Also, her ability to leave Haiti allows her to write, while Fito, and by extension other Haitian authors live the consequences of the event every day, and have no physical distance between them and the buildings and lives destroyed by it. Through Tatsumi, one also gains an outsider’s perspective on Haiti a year after the earthquake. To her, Haiti is a “fascinating country that could bewitch a foreigner for good or bad reasons. A country that could also shock and cause one to retreat away from it indefinitely” (Mars 2013:100). The best approach, the narrator suggests, was to “take it as you find it and above all not let oneself be overtaken by pity or shame, which creates a distance with others” and to “look the people in the eyes, be wary but speak to them, touch their humanity, and decode their priceless smiles” (Mars 2013:100). It is only however through leaving the city that Tatsumi begins to understand Fito, and that their relationship starts to develop.

The journey they undertake is more than a simple trip to the sea; it is a means for Fito of reconnecting with the Haitian countryside and nature, and of affirming that the places of memory are still there, following the disaster. There is a precision in the description of the places they pass, just as there is throughout the novel in recording the specific time that certain events happen, which suggests that the earthquake has changed the characters’ relationship to time and space: it is as if, despite or because of all the death and destruction, they are living and seeing the place anew. On their journey to the sea, each place they pass is named: the place names are detailed in an apparent affirmation of their continued existence, and again, as if they are being seen for the first time. Passing Léogâne, Fito chooses not to think about the many who died there during the earthquake, and thus he takes “a break from that pain for a moment” (Mars 2013:104). As the small towns and communities pass—Grand Goave, Petit-Goave, Miragoâne, Les Cayes—Fito realizes that he had been “obsessed by Port-au-Prince and its despondency,” and considers the trip to be like “escaping from prison” (Mars 2013:105).

The journey is a reaffirmation of place, and a reconnection with nature, and with the land, whose rich humus odor they breathe in as they cross the plain of Les Cayes (Mars 2013:105). In the dry season, rivers run “soft and clear”

(Mars 2013:106). The blue sea guides them to their destination; and coconut and banana trees, oaks, and flowers line the route, while the “dense vegetation” of the hillsides “seemed to open up to let them pass” (Mars 2013:106). The visual images of nature are accompanied by the “song of the sea,” a rhythmic sound that rises and falls with the movements of the waves and the wind (Mars 2013:107). Their destination is Abricots, the small town at the end of the southwestern peninsula of the country, and a kind of hidden haven, “the secret” as the narrator describes it (Mars 2013:106).

The destination is in fact the same as that of the narrator of Dany Laferrière’s pre-earthquake work, *L’Énigme du retour*. In Laferrière’s book, the narrator travels to Abricots as part of his process of mourning for his dead father. To Laferrière’s narrator, Abricots is also something of a secret, the place thought of as “paradise” by the Arawaks (Laferrière 2009:297). As in Mars’s novel, Abricots is a place to which the protagonist escapes the city, and renews his connection with a forgotten Haiti, and the natural world, the trees touching the sea, the red fish wriggling in the fishermen’s boats, the children devouring sweet mangoes, the “languorous life of the time before Columbus” (Laferrière 2009:297). In both cases, too, Abricots seems to exist in another time. Mars’s narrator describes the colonial cemetery, and the “sense of peaceful eternity” that existed there (Mars 2013:108). Significantly, the precise recording of time that occurs when writing of the city is replaced by more vague, impressionistic mentions of time that draw on the position of the sun and the changing effects of the light. For instance, when they arrive at Abricots, Mars’s narrator writes of the sun “tilting already toward the horizon,” and how it was a “moment of warm and golden light” that signaled the “first quivers of the shadows” (Mars 2013:109). Unsure of whether he is in a “real time” in Abricots, Laferrière’s narrator steps into this world he has long dreamed of, reposing in this pre-Columbian haven for three months to cure himself of the rhythms of urban life, to no longer think of his existence as a constant alternation between polar opposites, winter and summer, north and south, and to discover at last “spherical life,” as he puts it (Laferrière 2009:297, 298). Cradled by the “old Caribbean wind,” he sleeps with a smile on his face, like he did when he was a child living with his grandmother, a time that “has finally come back” (Laferrière 2009:299, 300). Thus returned by and through nature to this previous sense of himself and his place in the world, he pronounces finally the phrase that expresses the secret wish—or fear—of every traveler or exile: “It is the end of the journey” (Laferrière 2009:300).

For all that it situates itself among the living, Mars’s novel is also in a sense a work of mourning, though not so much for one individual as for the many thousands who died during the earthquake. In both cases, it is suggested that nature has a restorative quality, both for individuals and the entire population,

and that the natural world has been largely forgotten and neglected in the mass urbanization that has characterized recent Haitian history. While in Laferrière's work *Abricots* marks the end of the physical and emotional journey, in Mars's novel it signals only the beginning of the process of mourning and reflection that the character Fito undergoes. There is no easy movement from urban confusion to pastoral serenity. Instead, the "sudden freedom and abrupt solitude frightened Fito" (Mars 2013:111). He suffers from not having things to do or deadlines to meet, and cannot immediately "escape from the world" (Mars 2013:111). The city, and more specifically Canaan, "was calling him" (Mars 2013:111). The "euphoria" of arriving at *Abricots* dissipates quickly, and the natural elements, the sea and the sky, are respectively "too vast" and "too close to his head," while the wind "imprisons" him, and two vultures, "sinister and majestic" circle above, apparent signals of the troubles that continue to surround him (Mars 2013:112).

The presence of Tatsumi seems to prevent him from fully retreating into the "other Fito" (Mars 2013:115), the part of him that is fixated on Canaan and the young girls there. The laughter of some young children she meets on the beach "drilled into his eardrums," and their carefree nature "hurt him," leading him to wonder where the insouciance of the Canaan children had gone: "Did they not have the same cries of happiness hidden in their bodies? How can a single land create so many frontiers?" (Mars 2013:123). As such, Tatsumi moves between and across these frontiers, making Fito aware of their presence, and giving him an outsider's perspective on social boundaries that seem to him fixed elements that imprison him, apparently compelling him to act as he does. Tatsumi also unknowingly disrupts and challenges his fixation with young girls. Again, her body is to him like that of a "very young child," a reminder of the girls in Canaan, but without the aura of taboo and danger that seems to attract him to that place (Mars 2013:131). It is perhaps this missing element that renders him impotent in his initial sexual encounter with Tatsumi, during which he feels that "a part of himself, the essential part of his being, would abandon him en route" (Mars 2013:131). While in Canaan he feels like a "demi-god," anywhere else his virility fails and he is impotent in virtually every area of his life (Mars 2013:133).

Prompted by Tatsumi, Fito speaks of the effects of living from day to day with the reality of the camps, and indicates some of the contradictory effects of doing so. "Either you immerse yourself in it to help in one way or another," he says to her, "or you make out you see nothing, through cynicism or being crushed by powerlessness" (Mars 2013:156). The general desolation, he continues, "engenders a violence and a corruption that always catch up with us and strike us in unexpected ways" (Mars 2013:156).

His lost virility is one of the "unexpected" effects of the earthquake, and is related to his inability to write. As a means of curing his obsession with Canaan

he considers writing about it, and thinks of “vomiting over white pages all that pain, all those emotions that lacerated his skin, that immense human misery” (Mars 2013:135). The implied relationship between sex and writing in this case further suggests that his forays into Canaan are motivated by a mix of anger, helplessness, and pity that he feels he can only assuage by abusing the very objects of his pity, that because he feels powerless to preserve the innocence of the young girls he feels compelled to destroy it himself. The frontier between compassion and cruelty is thus far less clear than one might imagine, and it is suggested that both emotions may be provoked by extreme human misery and the degree to which one feels able to assuage that suffering. If one feels unable to help the object of pity, the novel seems to suggest, one may feel a need to destroy it completely.

Similarly, the desire to destroy is closely related to the impulse to create; and it is through writing that Fito finds finally a form of salvation. In a sequence that seems to finally affirm the ways in which readers, and outsiders, are important to writers in postearthquake Haiti, Tatsumi encourages him to “write all that pain ... let it run through your hands,” for it is through writing, she says to him, “that you will purge yourself of the anguish that I feel in you” (Mars 2013:158). As a reader, she has a kind of endless thirst, and she urges him to bring to life the people of the camps, to “speak Canaan” in order to take them out of misery and into “the community of men” (Mars 2013:158). The implied relationship between his sexual encounters with the young girls of Canaan and writing is further suggested through her idea that to write of the people is to “really enter into their skin,” a bodily metaphor that links his taking physical possession of the girls to taking possession of their stories through writing. The return to writing is also something of a return to nature, an idea that is suggested when Fito feels a sudden need to go to the sea, to “be alone” with it (Mars 2013:159). Swimming alone for hours, he feels that the “warm caress of the sea gave him an enormous sense of wellbeing” (Mars 2013:161). It is in the sea that he resolves to begin writing again, to be the “voice of those unknown, anonymous, lost lives, grains of sand thirsting for the ocean and eternity” (Mars 2013:162). It is this resolution that “finally frees him,” and which in turn cures his impotence, as he makes love to Tatsumi, an act narrated in metaphors of the sea: “he was still in the water, he was the water ... the waves carried him far ... he lost all notion of time and space and with her fell into an abyss” (Mars 2013:162). When he returns to the city, he is obsessed, no longer with going to Canaan, but with being at home, alone in his office and being able to write again. Sitting at his desk, he writes first, as he did with his first book, the title of the novel, which he types in bold letters: *Aux frontières de la soif* (Mars 2013:166). That his novel has the same title as Mars’s seems finally to suggest a degree of identification

between Mars and her fictional author: while the details of the Fito's obsessions are part of the fictional narrative, his anguish over writing, powerlessness, and confusion over how to react to so much despair seem to resonate with Mars herself, and by extension to other Haitian authors, whose questioning of their own craft in the postearthquake period becomes the very heart of the work, a self-reflexive movement that is at turns dubious about the worth of writing (and writers) and certain of its essential function as a means of personal and collective salvation.

Although it was in many ways an "unthinkable" event, the 2010 earthquake has been followed by an explosion in writing about Haiti, by both Haitian and non-Haitian authors. In this regard, the earthquake is quite different from the revolution, which in Michel-Rolph Trouillot's well-known phrase, "entered history with the peculiar characteristic of being unthinkable even as it happened" (Trouillot 1995:73). This was so, Trouillot says, as it was not generally believed by Europeans that enslaved Africans and their descendants could envision freedom, "let alone formulate strategies for gaining and securing such freedom" (Trouillot 1995:73). Foreign commentators read the news of the revolution "only with their ready-made categories," which were "incompatible with the idea of a slave revolution" (Trouillot 1995:73). The key element for Trouillot is the "discursive context" in which the revolution took place, and the questions it raises for Haitian historiography: "If some events cannot be accepted even as they occur, how can they be assessed later? In other words, can historical narratives convey plots that are unthinkable in the world within which these narratives take place? How does one write a history of the impossible?"⁵

The sheer magnitude of the destruction and human suffering wreaked by the 2010 earthquake is perhaps in some regards even more "unthinkable" than the prospect of slaves rising against their masters in the late eighteenth century. And yet, in contrast to the revolution, there has been no scholarly, journalistic, or other narrative silence on the earthquake; on the contrary the number of works published by foreign authors in particular has led Matthew J. Smith to note that it is a "peculiar feature" of Haitian historiography that production of new works often increases following a national crisis (Smith 2013:203). It has also led the journalist Jonathan Katz to question his motivations for writing on postearthquake Haiti and to wonder "whether the world really needs another American's personal account of living in Haiti" (Katz 2013:4). It is

5 Trouillot 1995:73. Nick Nesbitt (2013:274) challenges Trouillot's claim that the Haitian Revolution was unthinkable and argues that "Kant's defense of the French Revolution and Jacobinism renders the Haitian sequence eminently thinkable, if one only considers the slaves of Saint-Domingue as a priori human."

not only Americans who have written on postearthquake Haiti, and not only academics and journalists; the French novelist and poet Lionel-Édouard Martin published one of the earliest postearthquake testimonies, *Le Tremblement*, while the Guadeloupean author Ernest Pépin set his 2011 novel *Le Soleil pleurerait* in Haiti, and the Radio Canada costume designer Diane Lavoie published in 2013 an autobiographical account of her adoption of a Haitian orphan, entitled *Tremblement de mère*.⁶

In Haiti, too, where one might have expected authorial silence before the unthinkable reality of the earthquake, there has been a virtual cacophony of voices, some of them established (Kettly Mars, Lyonel Trouillot, and Évelyne Trouillot), others relatively new and enjoying unprecedented prominence since 2010 (Marvin Victor, James Noël, and Makenzy Orcel). The reason for such a proliferation of writing, compared to the long silence around the revolution, lies in the different discursive contexts: while the notion of a successful slave revolt was inconceivable for many two centuries ago, the reality of endless disaster in Haiti has in a sense prepared contemporary authors for the task of writing about a large-scale cataclysm.⁷

The experience of living with repeated disasters is termed a condition of “permanent catastrophe” by the Haitian sociologist Laënnec Hurbon. Recognizing the apparent contradiction in the term, Hurbon writes that if every disaster supposes a rupture in time and experience, one should also be aware of the “before and after of the catastrophe” (Hurbon 2012b:8). Disasters strike so often in Haiti—from the floods in Gonaïves in 2004 to the 2010 earthquake to the cholera epidemic to hurricanes Sandy and Isaac in 2012—that the population “risks taking as natural every calamity” (Hurbon 2012b:9). One effect of living in permanent catastrophe is that the memory of the most deadly of these events, the 2010 earthquake, fades quickly and the event loses its distinctiveness. One has the impression, Hurbon writes in 2012, that nothing happened on January 12, 2010, and that a “leap has been skillfully made beyond that date” (Hurbon 2012b:8). The constant denial and annulment of the disaster leads to the general “permanent installation in catastrophe” (Hurbon 2012b:9).

This condition of permanent disaster has important political dimensions, for as Hurbon argues at the heart of the situation “the leaders of the state seem to worry only about how to stay in power” (Hurbon 2012b:9). Disasters are moreover “godsend[s]” for those in power in that they give the politicians a source of

6 For two excellent reviews of scholarly work on Haiti since 2010, see Smith 2013 and Forsdick 2013.

7 On the postearthquake vitality of Haitian publishing, see <http://www.lematinhaiti.com/contentu.php?idtexte=35984&idtypetexte=> (accessed 23 October 2013).

legitimacy, which otherwise they would not have.⁸ There is even a “desire for disasters” in government, as these events allow the leaders to present themselves as victims to the international community, and to discharge their responsibilities in the economic, social, cultural, and political life of Haiti (Hurbon 2012b:9). To live in a state of permanent disaster means that individual events are not memorialized in a way that would consign them to the past and allow a sense of time other than that characterized by catastrophe: people live, Hurbon says, “without a perceptible future” and “in the condition of being superfluous (floating between life and death)” (Hurbon 2012b:10). Hurbon points out that the government has no interest in a memorial for the 2010 earthquake, and as such the disaster is not considered past, but part of the catastrophic present (Hurbon 2012b:9). This in turn has serious consequences for notions of reconstruction, as to be in a permanent state of catastrophe is to forget any time in which disaster was not a daily reality, and to lose awareness of what was there before to be reconstructed.⁹ As Hurbon puts it, the causes of permanent disaster are as much political as environmental (Hurbon 2012b:10). Indeed, the various signs of environmental degradation—deforestation, pollution, and so on—can be read as “the expression of the failure of the Haitian state” (Hurbon 2012b:10).¹⁰

In the absence of a functioning state and a coherent state discourse Haitian intellectuals such as Hurbon and authors such as Kettly Mars have a particular prominence, and bear a particular responsibility. Indeed, intellectual discourse to a large extent compensates for the virtual lack of state leadership and what Patrick Sylvain terms the “executive silence” on issues of citizenship, politics, and human rights (Sylvain 2013:90). Haitian literature in particular has tradi-

8 Hurbon 2012b: 9. Jonathan Katz (2013:207) suggests that disasters are also godsend for donors, who by late March 2012 had delivered less than half of the long-term funding pledged for 2010 and 2011. Donor countries, he argues, let President René Préval carry the blame for the lack of reconstruction. He also says that with the huge logistical costs of the relief operation, “much of the money was a stimulus program for the donor countries themselves” (Katz 2013:206). He further critiques the overall achievements of the foreign relief programs: “Having sought above all to prevent riots, ensure stability, and prevent disease, the responders helped spark the first, undermine the second, and by all evidence caused the third” (Katz 2013:278).

9 See in this regard the excellent “Haiti Memory Project,” an online archive of testimonies about the earthquake. The project, somewhat unlike Hurbon “assumes that earthquake is a point-zero in the lives of individual Haitians and in Haitian history; it is a moment that divided time into ‘before’ and ‘after,’” <http://haitimemoryproject.org> (accessed October 24, 2013).

10 See also Hurbon’s critique of the “privatization of the state” (Hurbon 2012a).

tionally been a site in which are debated and explored many of the issues that the state ignores and appears unable to act upon. As J. Michael Dash writes, this is not a new phenomenon, as “literature served the function of critical consciousness in nineteenth-century Haiti” (Dash 1998:49). Furthermore, as Mark D. Anderson argues, natural disasters involve “human interaction with the environment and as such must be mediated through culture” (Anderson 2011:1). In Haiti literature has often been a privileged mediator in registering and memorializing natural and other disasters.

As such, Mars’s novel and those of other authors such as Lyonel Trouillot, Évelyne Trouillot, and Marvin Victor memorialize not only the earthquake of 2010, but the experience of ongoing catastrophe that has characterized recent Haitian history. The apocalyptic thread in much pre-earthquake writing in effect foresaw and at times forewarned of a future catastrophe, and as such served as a pretext for the present, preparing author and reader alike for the all-encompassing disaster to come. Apocalyptic events may well, as in Mars’s novel, unveil hidden elements in society, but in a state of permanent catastrophe that constant unveiling can have the effect of making the unveiled factors—social divisions, economic disparities, historical injustice—appear as natural and unpreventable as the storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes that have become both causes of and metaphors for the unending upheaval of an entire nation.

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Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and the Frontiers of Encounter in Colonial Suriname

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Abstract

Oppression, exclusion, and alliance are themes common in frontier zones like Suriname where cultures come into contact, collide, and connect. This article shows how Suriname functioned as a frontier not only between European empires but also between cultures and peoples. The meetings, clashes, and exchanges between Jews and Amerindians are a lens through which to analyze this zone of encounter. This relationship also illustrates the dynamics at play on the frontiers of nation and empire. These are places where peoples who are “in between” such as the Portuguese Jews and Amerindians broker between two cultures and two worldviews.

Keywords

Jews – Amerindians – Suriname – frontiers – go-betweens

Noach Isak van Coerland was, by all accounts, an unpleasant man from a disagreeable family. He was born in Amsterdam in 1752 and appears in the records of both the civil authorities and the Jewish community in Suriname by the

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early 1770s. His appearance in these records stems from precisely this tendency toward unpleasantness. In fact, the *parnassim* of the Ashkenazi community requested that Governor Jean Nepveu banish him because, they wrote, everyone in the colony was aware of “in what manner Noach, as well as his parents, have conducted themselves; in such a turbulent fashion that one heard daily nothing but their hitting, fighting, and brawling on public streets.” Noach was subsequently exiled from the colony and ordered to live among the “free Indians in the region of the river Courantyne.” The objectionable Jew was, in fact, evicted from the colony, though his appeal of his banishment eventually took him back to the Dutch Republic, instead of to live amongst the free Indians.¹

Van Coerland may not have, in the end, gone to live with the Amerindians, but many other Jews in the colony of Suriname did have quite extensive contacts with these indigenous people throughout the colonial period. Yet this is not a relationship that has heretofore been examined in the historiography of Suriname, in general, or in the study of the Jewish community, in particular. If any attention is given to the relationship between Amerindians and Jews anywhere in the Americas at all, it usually concerns the pervasive messianic belief that the indigenous peoples were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel (Perelis 2009:195–211).² This article will move away from this

1 He was accused of selling gunpowder to slaves in the late 1770s and absented himself from the Dutch colony for some years. When he returned, he was soon charged with attacking his daughter and killing a slave. Van Coerland died sometime before 1823 in Amsterdam. His wife, Abigael de Vries, did not follow Van Coerland back to the Dutch Republic. She died in Paramaribo on August 13, 1823 when she was approximately 71 years old. Their daughter, Haja, also died in Paramaribo in 1831. These and all subsequent translations from the Dutch are made by the author. National Archive of the Netherlands (hereafter NL-HaNA), Gouvernementssecretarie Suriname tot 1828, 1.05.10.01, inv. no. 528; NL-HaNA, Raad van Politie Suriname, 1.05.10.02, inv. no. 137; NL-HaNA, Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente Suriname, 1.05.11.18, inv. no. 8 (Minutes June 12, 1770–October 14, 1788); NL-HaNA, Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente Suriname, 1.05.11.18, inv. no. 9 (Minutes December 1, 1788–May 17, 1818). See also Cohen 1991:139–144.

2 Antonio de Montezinos was a Portuguese new Christian and traveler who, in 1644 claimed, that he had found one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, the tribe of Reuben, living in the jungles of the “Quito Province” of Ecuador. The text was known as *Relación de Aharon Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos* and was originally presented as an oral deposition by Montezinos himself to the ruling council (*Mahamad*) of the Sephardic community in 1644. This supposed discovery gave an impulse to messianic hopes in Europe, particularly on the part of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, in Amsterdam, who wrote a book about this narrative, *The Hope of Israel*. In it, Ben Israel, using Montezinos’s supposed evidence, argued that the native inhabitants

framework. Because, as fantastical and as influential as the idea—that the indigenous peoples were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel—was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this same idea seems to have had little or no impact on how Dutch settlers, including Jewish settlers, in Suriname or the other Guianas interacted with the Amerindian populations with whom they came into contact.

Instead, this article will argue that a very real and almost entirely untold story lies in the interactions between Amerindians and Jewish colonists in Suriname, a history that has been, and remains, difficult to write because these largely forgotten encounters lie in scraps of evidence, or between the lines of recorded incidents. This task is not made any easier by the fact that the term “Amerindians” could encompass so many different individuals and groups, and moreover, it is not clear if these groups that are referred to in the historical literature are the same as the contemporary peoples (Carlin & Boven 2002:44, n. 11). Moreover, linguistic definitions were, and still are, uncritically used as political ones (Whitehead 1990:378). The sources, which begin around 1600, indicate that there were a variety of groups: the Kari’na (Caribs), Arawaks, Wauraus, and Parakotos, as well as the Yaos and the Nepuyo, all largely grouped in the coastal regions (Carlin & Boven 2002:18). The Waurau lived around the Orinoco Delta and in the swampy regions of Western Guianas, while the Arawak occupied the area further east, maybe even as far as the Marowijne River in Suriname. The Caribs inhabited the western part of the region, generally upstream from the Arawaks, east of the Courantyne and closer to the coast (Boomert 1984; Heinen & García-Castro 2000; Whitehead 1993).³ And by the end of the seventeenth century, a new group of Kari’na-speaking people who were of mixed

of America at the time of the European discovery were actually descendants of the [lost] Ten Tribes of Israel. The book was published simultaneously in Spanish and Latin as *Miqweh Israel: Esto es Esperança de Israel* and *Miqweh Israel: Hoc est Spes Israelis* (both Amsterdam, 1650). At least thirteen editions appeared through 1723 in Latin, Spanish, English, Dutch, Yiddish, and Hebrew. For a complete bibliography, see Coppenhagen 1990. It caused great controversy and polemics in England and was also hugely influential in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere. The bibliography on the importance of Ben Israel’s retelling of Montezinos’s story is enormous. To name just a few, see Kaplan, Méchoulán & Popkin 1987:1–95. Benjamin Schmidt (2001: 86–106) takes a more nuanced view and places the creation and reception of Ben Israel’s work in the ongoing Dutch discourse about the natives of the Americas.

- 3 “Carib” was something of a catch-all term in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources, and, as Carlin and Boven note, not all peoples who were subsumed under the name Carib were necessarily ethnic Caribs. They might even have been from an Arawakan group. See Carlin & Boven 2002:44, n. 5.

black and Amerindian origin, known as the Karaboegers, had emerged. They lived along the Coppename River (Carlin & Boven 2002:19). Broadly speaking, the groups of people to whom this article makes reference were likely from the Arawak, Carib, or Waurau peoples (Buve 1962:4).

There is a fair amount known about the precolonial ethnography of the indigenous peoples, largely drawn from archeology, material culture, and linguistics, but employing, as well, the myriad accounts of Europeans that describe their encounters with these groups (Kloos 1971; Kloos 1975; Whitehead & Alemán 2009; Penard & Penard 1927). The accuracy of these early accounts, is, of course, somewhat doubtful. Travel writers clearly drew heavily upon each other's work, sometimes employing almost the same wording and structure, even when their works were written in different languages more than a century apart. For example, George Warren (1667), J.D. Herlein (1718), Gabriel Stedman (1790), and A.F. Lammens (late eighteenth century) describe childbirth practices among the Amerindians of the Guianas.⁴ Using nearly identical language, they tell how it is that the man rested after the birth of his child and was fed in his hammock while the mother cared for the baby and for him (Warren 1667:25; Herlein 1718:155; Stedman 1972; Lammens, n.d.). All of which points to the fact that these writers' anthropological observations may not have been based on first-hand experience. Though this article is largely based on sources created by the Europeans, including many of these above-mentioned travel accounts, it does utilize the available secondary literature, combined with these primary sources, to tease out a picture of indigenous life and Amerindian perspectives. Although it does not pretend to write any sort of Amerindian history, it will employ the tantalizing bits of information available in the archeological, anthropological, and, above all, historical, documentation to shed light on the intriguing relationship between Jews and Amerindians. It is through the prism of these scant primary sources—limited to the European perspective to be sure—that glimpses can be caught of the complicated dynamics of Amerindian and Jewish interaction in late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth-century Suriname.

The relationship between Jews and Amerindians was hardly clear-cut. Although there was certainly oppression and exclusion, there was also cooperation, alliance, and cultural brokerage. These are the themes common in any frontier zone where cultures come into contact, collide, and connect. Fron-

4 Lammens's manuscript is based on a transcription of Johannis Sneebeeling's personal observations of Amerindians and their culture. Not much is known about Sneebeeling, but he might have been a plantation owner in the district of Para.

tiers (and their synonyms: borderlands, peripheral or fringe areas) are geographic zones of interaction between two or more distinctive cultures. They are generally seen as places where cultures contend with one another and with their physical environment to produce a dynamic that is unique to time and place (Weber & Rausch 1994:xiv). The historian David Weber goes so far as to argue that the frontier is the focal point of all history—the place where multiple cultures meet, clash, and exchange (Weber 1982:277; Weber 1992).⁵ This article will emphasize that Suriname functioned not only as a frontier zone or borderland between European empires—the British, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and French had all vied for control of this space—but also between cultures and peoples. And the meetings, clashes, and exchanges between Jews and Amerindians can be a lens through which to analyze this zone of encounter specifically, as well as the dynamics of frontier encounters more generally.

Frontiers of Exchange

On October 30, 1674, four men appeared at the office of Amsterdam notary P. Padthuijsen to sign an agreement with one another.⁶ They planned a joint venture, or what they called a “company,” and every man made an initial contribution of 1,300 guilders, which was (very roughly) the equivalent of US\$78,000 today.⁷ Considering that an outdoor laborer earned around 6.50 guilders per week or just over 300 guilders per year (US\$18,000) and a master carpenter earned 9 guilders per week or just over 450 guilders per year (US\$27,000), this was a large sum indeed (Soltow & Van Zanden 1998). They were pooling the modern-day equivalent of US\$312,000 to outfit a ship to conduct trade on the so-called “Wild Coast” of South America.

5 Others use the “frontier zone” concept as well. See Thompson & Lamar 1981; Forbes 1959; and Forbes 1962.

6 Stadsarchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam Municipal Archives, hereafter SAA), Notarial Archives (hereafter NA), 2908b/1438.

7 The partnership would have very little resemblance to what a company today would look like. The “company” was understood to be disbanded when the period of time defined in the contract was up. It is extremely difficult to calculate equivalencies in currencies over time, and any and all estimates are extremely rough. With that caveat in mind, research on inflation and the consumer price index over the period from 1600 to 2000, as well investigations into the rate of exchange and changes in purchasing power, has lead to a very general guideline of a factor of 60. That means, taken with caution, 100 guilders in the 1600s would equal around US\$6,000 in today’s money. See Bernstein 2004: 231–235 and Ibbotson & Brinson 1993:251–252.

The ship was purchased jointly out of their combined funds. In this, and the other aspects of their agreement, they were following standard business practice in the Dutch Republic by establishing a *partenrederij*, a contract for the joint ownership of vessels for trade (or fishing or transport) that limited the liability of each of the partners to the value of his initial investment (Riemersma 1952; Posthumus 1953; Broeze 1976–1978). The first trading ventures to West Africa and Asia had been formed using such a construction (Gelderblom & Jonker 2004). By the time the four businessmen walked into the notary Padthuijsen's office that day in late October, this system for the provision of capital with limited liability was widely used in almost all shipping-related endeavors such as whaling, the herring fisheries, and colonial trade in the Dutch Republic (De Vries & Van der Woude 1997:244–247).

Abraham Drago, Jacob Pruijs, Barent van der Linden, and Otto van Halmael, the entrepreneurs who banded together in October 1674, needed to limit their liabilities because they were embarking on a risky venture. They proposed to send their optimistically named ship, *The Hope*, sailing up the rivers “Carsewine” and “Michary or Aricharrij” into a contested frontier zone with only eight men, two of whom, Van der Linden and Van Halmael, were themselves investors in the enterprise. This was a region that had been heavily fought over by the European powers, as well as by the Caribs and Arowaks. This constantly shifting frontier for the contestation of European rivalries, not to mention indigenous resistance, was the prototype for what Bernard Bailyn termed a “marchland”—“an ill-defined, irregular, outer borderland” (Bailyn 2005:62–63).

By the time the enterprising businessmen of Amsterdam chose to make an expedition to the area, it was under the nominal control of the province of Zeeland, having been wrested from the rule of the English in 1667. This change, however, only exacerbated already existing problems between the Europeans, of whatever stripe, and the Amerindians. In fact, within two years after the expedition on the ship *The Hope* set out, a guerrilla war with the Amerindians which lasted nine years (until 1686) would break out. Thus, Drago, Pruijs, Van der Linden, and Van Halmael were sending their ship, and their investment, into a zone in which European control was nominal, disease rampant, and the risks high. Little wonder, then, that they had tried to limit their liabilities as much as possible.

Yet they would not have chosen to gamble roughly the equivalent of US\$ 312,000 if they did not think they had a chance of success. They proposed to sail up the various rivers on this “wild coast” to buy goods from the trading posts and the plantations that dotted their banks. But, most importantly where this article is concerned, they proposed in their notarial act to “buy what we can

from the Indians.”⁸ In this they were following a well-established pattern in the region. Trade conducted by so-called *bokkenruylers*, merchants who traveled inland along the rivers to exchange goods with the Amerindians, was commonplace. Although the English had attempted to shift the settlements away from this sort of trade and toward plantation agriculture, with some modicum of success, when the Zeelanders took over the area, there was a resurgence in the inland trade (Fatah-Black 2013:40). In fact, a combination of trade with the plantations and with the indigenous peoples located in the interior of this frontier often went hand-in-hand, and trade with the Amerindians, particularly in tropical hardwoods, was of vital importance to the European settlers well into the 1680s (Hulsman 2009:235).

The Dutch had come to the region to trade, and their success (or failure) was heavily dependent upon the cooperation of the Amerindians. The Dutch set up posts in the Guianas in order to promote trade with the Amerindians, and these posts were able to survive, at least initially, largely because of the Amerindians, who were often eager to counterbalance Spanish influence in the area, and who would protect the settlements against rival Amerindian groups. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Amerindians would check if the European traders were Spanish or not, and if the traders were English, French, or Dutch, they proceeded to trade with them. These Amerindians also wanted, of course, the goods the Dutch could bring them, such as knives, axes, fishhooks, and beads. The Amerindians brought the Dutch food, tobacco, dyes, the aforementioned tropical woods, and, of course, slaves.⁹ According to the Dutch-Scottish soldier and travel writer, Gabriel Stedman:

The trade or traffic which the Indians of Guiana carry on with the Dutch consists chiefly in slaves, earthen jars, canoes, hammocks, baskets, Brazil-wood, hiaree-roots, macaws, parrots, monkeys, balsam capivi, arracocerra, caraba or crab oil, and arnotta, for which they receive in return checquered cloth, fire-arms, gunpowder, hatchets, knives, scissars, different coloured beads, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, combs, needles, pins &c.

STEDMAN 1972:217

These trading relationships were often sealed with marriage alliances, according to Amerindian customs. The travel writer Edward Bancroft (1776:376) noted

⁸ SAA, NA 2908b/1438.

⁹ Amerindian groups had engaged in a trade in slaves before the arrival of the Europeans. However, the European settlers stimulated this already existing slave trade.

that as late as 1760, “Several of the most considerable families, in rank and fortune derive their origin from these alliances [between Dutch men and Amerindian women].”¹⁰ Trade alliances were not always, or even often, clearly distinguished from family or kinship alliances, nor from military ones, as shall be discussed in the following section.

Much of the trade, even in the posts run by the Dutch West India Company (WIC), was conducted by private traders, often of mixed descent such as the ones described by Bancroft, though because they were not officially employed by the WIC, their identities are difficult to ascertain. It is clear that these men went into the interior, often for months at a time, and traded with the Amerindians. In this they were building on already existing native systems of exchange (Whitehead 1988:53–55; Whitehead 1999:393). Many travel writers noted that it was the custom of the Amerindians to take their canoes and travel to other groups in the interior and trade. Philip Fermin describes how the Amerindians “cannot but travel to visit each other to trade with their canoes” and “[they] sell hammocks, earthenware ... weapons, all sorts of rare animals, and balsam, which they exchange for the goods of the Europeans which they need or that they can use in making their goods. One can buy from them cheaply because, most of the time, they do not know the actual value of the goods they are selling” (Fermin 1770:77–78, 80–81).

The merchants of Amsterdam described earlier likely felt confident in their chances of turning a profit not only because they were following an established pattern of trade in the region, but also because of the first-hand knowledge of this trade that at least one of their number, Abraham Drago, had. Drago, a Portuguese Jew, numbers among the group of five “colonial entrepreneurs” whom the historian of the Dutch in the Atlantic, Wim Klooster, views as key to the establishment of Jewish settlements in the Americas in the seventeenth century (Klooster 2009).¹¹ Abraham Drago’s experience in the Dutch colonies

¹⁰ See also Whitehead 1990:366.

¹¹ The other entrepreneurs named by Klooster are João de Yllán, David Cohen Nassi, Antonio Luis, and Abraham Cohen. Drago was born in Lisbon in 1628 and lived the peripatetic existence so common among Portuguese Jewish merchants engaged in Atlantic trade. He moved to Recife, in Dutch Brazil, around 1648. He had probably gone to Brazil from Amsterdam rather than directly from Lisbon. In any case, after the fall of the colony to the Portuguese, he went back to Amsterdam, as did many of the other Jewish settlers. He was one of the first Jewish settlers on Curaçao in 1651, and continued crossing the Atlantic. When Drago was in Amsterdam, as he certainly was documented as being in 1655, 1661, 1675, and 1697 (when he died), he encouraged migration to Curaçao, and brought seven families to Willemstad as late as 1680. See Wolff & Wolff 1979:30–31; Wolff & Wolff 1991; Bloom 1937:62; Klooster 2009:235, n. 76.

was not just limited to Curaçao, though. Drago had experience on the Wild Coast, and could have been expected by his partners Jacob Pruijs, Barent van der Linden, and Otto van Halmael to know enough about the inland commerce with the Amerindians to help make their mission a success, as this trade was a hallmark of life in the region. Drago had owned land in Cayenne, the short-lived Dutch colony in what is present-day French Guyana, and had contracted with various men in the Dutch Republic to help him cultivate his property (Bloom 1937:153–154; Zwarts 1927–28). Moreover, two relatives of Abraham's, Isaac and David Drago, likely cousins, were named in the notarial deed passed that distant day in October as being the factors in Suriname to whom Van der Linden and Van Halmael were to hand over the goods they had purchased from the Amerindians on their trip up the rivers of the Wild Coast. Isaac and David Drago were noted in this deed as living in Suriname at the time.¹² Isaac Drago had been living in the colony for at least five years by the time Van der Linden and Van Halmael were to have made contact with him, so would have known about how to conduct trade with the Amerindians (Klooster 2009:46).¹³

While it is clear, then, that Portuguese Jews had non-Jewish, Dutch trading partners, the notarial deed also shows that the Portuguese Jews in Suriname already had at least some knowledge of the advantages of trading with Amerindians and knew how to conduct this trade. In fact, this notarial deed brings to light a trade network set up between Portuguese Jews, Dutch Christians, and Amerindians—a small-scale network to be sure—but one that was important enough, and official enough, that it was acknowledged in the documentation of the Dutch legal system. Research by the historian Daniel Usner has brought to light a vibrant, multicultural frontier society comprising whites,

¹² SAA, NA 2908b/1438.

¹³ Isaac Drago also had extensive colonial experience. He is likely the same Isaac Drago who was later recorded as living in Curaçao. See Emmanuel & Emmanuel 1970:44, n. 41, vol. 1. Isaac Drago was first documented in the colony in 1669 as the husband of Sara Nassy, daughter of David Nassy, another one of the “colonial entrepreneurs” named by Klooster. Sara herself was an experienced settler in the Guianas, having first gone to Cayenne as a colonist in 1659. The importance of the Nassy family in the history of colonial Suriname would be hard to over-estimate. The Nassy and Drago families were closely connected. Not only were Isaac and Sara married, but David Nassy's wife was Rebecca Drago. See Emmanuel & Emmanuel 1970:43, n. 37, vol. 1. Abraham Drago was the factor in Amsterdam for Samuel Nassy, Sara's brother and David Nassy's son. See Klooster 2009:46. Likewise, Josua and Jacob Nassy, two of David Nassy's other sons, were named in the notary Padthuijsen's deed as alternative factors for Van der Linden and Van Halmael should the Dragos not be available. See SAA, NA 2908b/1438.

Indians, and blacks in colonial Louisiana. These groups created a wide-reaching network for trade. Usner labels their interaction “frontier exchange,” defining it as “the form and content of economic interaction between these groups.” Usner argues that for too long, “frontier” has connotated an interracial boundary, across which advanced societies penetrated primitive ones. But Usner believes that frontiers were more regional in scope, and should instead be seen as networks of cross-cultural interaction through which native and colonial groups circulated goods and services (Usner 1992:6; Usner 1987). The picture that Usner paints for colonial Louisiana is similar to that of the Portuguese Jews, Amerindians, and Dutch traders on the frontier in the Guianas. The society that clung to the edges of the South American mainland was a multicultural frontier society comprising whites, Indians, and blacks. These groups, particularly the whites, including the Portuguese Jews, and the Amerindians, created a wide-reaching network for trade—a network that included the geographical spaces of this vast frontier, but ranged as far as the European continent, because at least some of the goods acquired from the Amerindians were to be taken back to Amsterdam. In addition this was also a vibrant frontier society on the borderland between cultures and territories where encounter could be based on exchange and cooperation between and among groups.

“His Good Indians”: Jews, Amerindians, and Civil Militias

The Prussian correspondent of the Surinamese Jewish community in the late eighteenth century, C.W. von Dohm, recognized the importance of military service in the early modern world when he inquired of these Jews living in the far reaches of the Dutch empire, “Have you the right to defend the common fatherland as soldiers, and to serve it as civil or military officers?” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:13). Dohm’s questions, which inspired the now-famous retrospective of the Portuguese Jews’ residence lasting more than a century on the frontier of the Dutch empire, the *Historical Essay*, touched on a key aspect of Jewish settlement in Suriname—their role in the military. The claim that one was a responsible community member who, in turn, expected certain privileges for supporting the government by serving in the civil militias was reiterated by many settlers in Dutch-controlled territories when they first ventured into the Atlantic world (Maika 2005:97). As Wim Klooster notes, “In other New World holdings of the Dutch West India company [WIC] like Curaçao, participation in the burgher guard was an obligation of a citizen” (Klooster 2002:184). On Curaçao, for instance, each man—Dutch-born or not—who took up his abode on the island, was registered with the civic guard after a stay of one year and

six weeks.¹⁴ In Suriname, too, each able-bodied man was expected to serve in one of the eleven companies of the civil militia.¹⁵ The Portuguese Jews had their own company based in Jodensavanne, their agricultural settlement in the interior on the frontier with the wilderness.

The fact that the Jews not only served in the civil militia, but had their own regiment in Suriname, underlines the difference from Curaçao, where Jews served as part of the general militia and it was certainly a far cry from the Dutch Republic itself.¹⁶ In the Republic, Jews in Amsterdam or other Dutch cities did not serve in the civil militias, and, instead, paid a fee in exchange for service.¹⁷ The fact that Jews in the Dutch colonies were expected to serve in the militias was likely an entirely pragmatic decision. Such a high percentage of the white male population in the Dutch colonies was Jewish—approximately 40 percent in Curaçao (50 percent in the capital city of Willemstad) in the eighteenth century, and in Suriname about one-quarter of all whites in the seventeenth century which grew to about one-half of the total white population by the

14 For more on Jewish service in the colonial civil militias, see Roitman 2012:75–76.

15 The sources use the terms *burgerwacht* in Dutch to describe these groups. For the sake of clarity, I use the more contemporary “civil militia.”

16 *Fiscaal* Petersen tried to exclude Jews from serving in the militia on Curaçao in 1737 and 1738. Petersen submitted a report to the WIC directors saying that Jews should be excused from serving in the militia because they “were not adept at the use of arms” but should, instead, pay a tax in lieu of service. NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02/585, 608v–628. This despite the fact that Jews had been noted by various observers as having been quite active in the military defense of the island, especially during the famous attack of the French pirate Jacques Cassard in 1713. For instance, “Aan de Cornetsbajj anders Maripompoen Lagen omtrend 40 Israeliten op een hogge berg gecampeert onder commando van Mordochaij Henriquez als capitijn, hebbende tot haar verchansingen eenige broot en meelvatte met steenen en gront gevult, egter door de hoogte van de bergh waren genoegzaam schoot vrij voor ’t canon van passeerende scheepen.” This account is confirmed in a letter written by Governor van Collen to the WIC directors, in which he lists “40 Israeliten” serving on the Cornetsbaai. See De Gaaij Fortman: 1924–25:247, 249. Petersen was not successful in his attempts to exclude Jews. NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02/210, 55–76.

17 A major conflict had broken out in New Netherland about Jewish service in civil militias. In 1655, Asher Levy, an Ashkenazi Jew who had settled in this outpost of the Dutch empire demanded to be allowed to fulfil the obligations of citizenship within the colony by serving in the civil guard. In a resolution passed that same year, Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the colony, and his council exempted Jews from military service in the civil guard and imposed a special tax on them in lieu of serving. This exclusion was justified because the captains and other members of the militia felt “aversion and disaffection ... to be fellow soldiers ... and to mount guard in the same guardhouse” with Jews. See O’Callaghan 1868:191–192.

end of the eighteenth century—that to have excluded Jews would have left the militias and, by extension, the colonies, in a dangerously weak position.¹⁸

Thus, these militias were vital to the defense of the colony, and Jewish service was an integral part of this defense. This need for defense was particularly acute in Suriname, as the colony was in a fairly constant state of conflict. This conflict raged not only between European powers—the English and Dutch had squabbled over the colony for decades in the early part of the seventeenth century, and the French privateer Cassard struck at the heart of the territory in the eighteenth century—but it was also caused by Amerindians and the Maroons. These African escapees banded together, sometimes, though very rarely, with various Amerindian groups, and created settlements in the interior of the colony. From these bases deep in the jungle they conducted raids on the plantations, stealing provisions and occasionally killing those living on the plantations. Therefore, the Maroons were greatly feared, especially in the interior where the majority of the plantations were located. As a consequence, the militias were regularly sent out on missions to capture or kill the Maroons.

The Jewish militia of Jodensavanne, the primary site of Jewish settlement (along with Paramaribo) in the colony, was especially important in the ongoing fight against the Maroons. Founded in 1682 by the Nassy family, it was located in the interior on the frontier with the wilderness. It was a particularly vulnerable settlement because despite the “harsh reality of the threat of slave revolts or of raids from former slaves living independently in their newly established villages in the interior, from European powers, and from native Americans, the town was laid out as in a perfect world” (Frankel 1999:3). The community’s open plan left it vulnerable to raids by the Maroons, and, therefore, the Jewish

18 Estimates vary as to the exact number of Jews and the precise percentage of the white population they comprised. According to the foremost historians of the Curaçaoan Jewish community, Suzanne and Isaac Emmanuel, Curaçao’s total population in 1785 was 8,500, of which 3,000 to 3,200 were white and around 1,200 of these whites were Jews. In other words, close to 40 percent of the white population of the island was Jewish (Emmanuel & Emmanuel 1970:277). Wim Klooster examines the population of Jews in Willemstad, Curacao’s capital and major city, and estimates that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the number of Jewish families was nearly half that of white non-Jews. Based on WIC tax records, Klooster believes that by 1789 there were about 6,000 free residents in Willemstad, which included free blacks and “coloreds”, most of whom were Catholics, as well as 2,469 Protestants and 1,095 Jews (Klooster 2001:353, 355). In 1748, for instance, of the 175 residents serving in the guard on Curaçao, 44 were Jews. NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02/210, 55–76.

militia could be counted on to act swiftly against any perceived threat to their settlement.

David de Isaac Cohen Nassy, author of the *Historical Essay*, reported:¹⁹

Captain David C. Nassy was at all times a robust man, accustomed to the work of the plantations and of intrepid courage ... It is known that these Indians, although weak by temperament, are the most adept at discovering the tracks of the runaway slaves in the woods, and since they [the Indians] were afraid of falling into their hands, they placed spies in the forests in order to reconnoiter the place of their dwellings and all the movements that they made.

MARCUS & CHYET 1974:66–67

David Nassy exploited the knowledge the Amerindians had of the forest to his, and the colony's, advantage. This knowledge was invaluable for patrols, and the Amerindians were prized scouts, guides, messengers, and spies, as Nassy describes in the passage above. But it was not only in these functions that the Amerindians participated in the (Jewish) militias. As the *Historical Essay* goes on to report, "He gave them firearms, taught them to use them as well as a soldier." Though certain Amerindians were considered "as allies in war or as friends so outstanding and so fearsome enemies, more assured and unyielding than one might think" (Whitehead 1990:359)²⁰ they were also viewed as needing training to learn to be "real" soldiers. As the travel writer George Warren observed of the Amerindian warriors:

Their arms are Bowes, with poisoned Arrowes, and short Clubs of Specklewood, some, for Defence, carry Shields made of light wood, handsomely painted and engraved. They observe no Order in their Fighting, nor, unless upon very great advantages, enterprize any thing but by night.²¹

WARREN 1667:26

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- 19 Although the names of other members of the *Mahamad* are given at the end of the opening epistle of the book, archival research by several scholars has definitively established that David de Isaac Cohen Nassy was the author. See Cohen 1991 and Davis 2010.
- 20 Whitehead quoted this passage referring to the Caribs which was written by the governor of Essequibo on February 21.
- 21 Warren's account of undisciplined fighting is somewhat contradicted by Robert Harcourt, the early English traveler to the region. He describes a rather disciplined force of Amerindian warriors. (Harcourt 1928:87–88).

This is the training that Nassy, who was serving under Jacob d' Avilar, Captain of the Jewish regiment, gave these fierce yet, apparently, undisciplined, fighters. And it seems to have been Nassy, with whom the Amerindians appear to have had such good rapport, who led the expedition made in 1718 against the Maroons in the Saramaca region, rather than Captain d' Avilar. In his troop were eleven Jews, some slaves owned by Nassy, and "a troop of fifty good Indians" (Marcus & Chyet 1974:66–67).

Nassy "knew the use he could make of these Indians ... He put himself at their head." The expedition was a success, many rebels were killed, a few prisoners were brought back alive, and none of this cost the government of the colony a penny, because Nassy had paid for the expedition himself, "being then very rich and in a position to make many expenditures" (Marcus & Chyet 1974:66–67). Such expeditions were encouraged by the administrative council in its publication of 1717, "to whoever wished to undertake raids against the runaway slaves, at a fixed price according to the progress which they would come to make" (Hartsink 1770:756). It is hardly surprising that Nassy was promoted to captain of the important Jewish militia. He had managed to leverage his relationship with "his" Indians to increase his own status within the Jewish community and the colony as a whole.

Nassy's success encouraged him to continue utilizing Amerindian allies in the hunt for Maroons. The *Historical Essay* states that he undertook at least thirty expeditions. That there were at least thirty more expeditions is not particularly surprising given the continued state of unrest plaguing this frontier. It is not clear how many of these thirty expeditions incorporated Amerindians. One that did was mounted in 1731, and yet another one was formed in 1743, when the administrative council, led by Governor Mauritius, ordered the militias to organize an expedition against the runaway slaves. Nassy was by all accounts "very old" when asked to form a detachment to chase down the Maroons, and this expedition seems to have been his last. According to contemporaneous accounts, Nassy left that August "with twenty-seven civilians [presumably fellow Jewish militia members], twelve soldiers, fifteen Indians, 165 Negroes, and sixty canoes" (Marcus & Chyet 1974:68).

This sort of Amerindian military assistance was vital to the survival of the colony of Suriname, as it was, indeed, for many of the Dutch settlements (Whitehead 1990; Kars 2011; Meuwese 2011a and 2011b). In fact, throughout the early modern world, Amerindian allies were instrumental in Europeans' acquisition of, and their subsequent control over, their colonies. The Dutch colonies were chronically short of soldiers and grew to depend upon their Amerindian allies' military skills, which were often specially suited to the terrain. They were in possession of the local knowledge and skills which the Europeans lacked.

Moreover, they served in secondary or supportive roles such as hunting and gathering food, hauling materials, and rowing boats up the many waterways. With reinforcements slow to arrive from Europe, tropical diseases which struck down many of the soldiers who did arrive, and the ever-present threat of mutiny by the soldiers due to the dreadful conditions and slow pay, it is little surprise that the Dutch colonial government and the colonists such as Nassy depended on their Amerindian allies to safeguard their settlements.²²

The sources are silent as to whether there was further cooperation with Amerindians and Jewish militias in the constant skirmishes with the Maroons after this date. One thing that is clear is that Nassy must have had a particular ability to interact with the Amerindians which fostered cooperation and alliance on the personal level. The *Historical Essay* records that “He [Nassy] had ... a special inclination to converse often with the Indians who were in great numbers in the settlements, and with whose language he was familiar” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:66). Nassy’s familiarity with an Amerindian language was no doubt invaluable in facilitating the logistics of cooperation within these military units. In fact, “Indian translators” were so vital a component of military expeditions in Suriname that in 1713 they were paid 350 guilders, which was more than the 288 guilders paid to the smith and a little less than the 400 guilders the carpenter earned.²³ This knowledge of their language and, it can be assumed, at least some aspects of their culture, was doubtless also helpful in winning their trust so that they would agree to ally with him and his Jewish militia to begin with.

Of course, this cooperation with the Amerindians (and blacks) was advantageous to Nassy. Serving in and leading a militia, as other male settlers did, underscored Jewish belonging in the colony, as such service was part and parcel of belonging to the larger community. Serving in the civil militias, particularly in the colonies, demonstrated the fulfillment of obligations to the larger community by a (male) citizen, and, in turn, there was understood to be a reciprocal obligation on the part of this community to the citizen who served. Yet it is highly doubtful that such a sense of the reciprocity of obligations was the case for the Amerindians (or the blacks) who served in Suriname. Though they may have been “good Indians,” they were brought along with the Jewish militia on

22 The first Dutch governor of Suriname, Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck, was killed by mutinying soldiers who were unhappy with their provisions. For an account of the mutiny, see Herlein 1718:54–55. Stedman described the privations the soldiers endured in his famous account of his time in the colony (Stedman 1972:66).

23 NL-HaNa, Sociëteit van Suriname, 1.05.03, inv. no. 564.

expeditions to serve a specific function, not to become part of the larger community. This was also the case with the enslaved Africans who also sometimes accompanied the militias.

Those who did join in Dutch expeditions in the Guianas, most likely also including those operated by Nassy's Jewish militia, were paid for their services. Amerindians were given liquor, Indian cloth, beads, mirrors, scissors, knives, and, perhaps most importantly, guns, in exchange for their help.²⁴ Nassy who was "very rich and in a position to make many expenditures" very probably paid the Amerindians in some way (Marcus & Chyet 1974:66–67). But it is unlikely that they fought only for material gain, though this was obviously an important consideration. They also fought to retain their positions as favored trading partners. Steel tools, cloth, and firearms were made available only to the Amerindian leaders who favored the Europeans as a reward for their political allegiance (Whitehead 1990:376).

Moreover, many Amerindians were unfavorably inclined toward the Maroons, although some did take in runaway slaves. They saw the Maroons as encroaching on their land, as competitors for women, and, sometimes, as the aggressors who attacked their villages (Kars 2011:267). The colonial authorities were only too happy to fan the flames of conflict between the two groups because the Amerindians could, and sometimes did, facilitate the escape of slaves.²⁵ In fact, as a stipulation for ending the conflicts in the late seventeenth century, the Caribs and Arawaks, among other Amerindian groups, had signed treaties in which they agreed to return runaway slaves. This stipulation benefited the colonial government in several ways, including the discouragement of any alliances between the Amerindians and enslaved Africans (Mulert 1919; Wekker 1993; Van Lier 1971:76). As one Governor, Storm van Gravesande, very bluntly acknowledged, "These occurrences [Carib slave hunting] cause a great embitterment between the blacks and them, which, if well and reasonably stimulated cannot fail to be of much use and service in the future to the colonies" (Harris & Villers 1967:478; Whitehead 1988:164).

But personal relationships between Amerindians and colonists, including the Jewish settlers, were crucial in securing the help of indigenous fighters. As one Dutch official noted:

Since these are free-born people and not to be subordinated nor always won over by money or presents; it follows that one must act carefully

24 NL-HaNA, Sociëteit van Berbice, 1.05.05, inv. no. 226.

25 NL-HaNA, Second West India Company (WIC), 1.05.01.02, inv. no. 187.

in this matter [recruiting them to hunt down Maroons]. They will only serve out of goodwill and inclination to their neighbors or out of a kind of primitive pride in considering themselves honored by being in a position to perform a service for the whites. For this reason it should not be looked upon as an act for which we pay them, but as a favour received from them, in return for which we make them a present as a memento and to encourage friendship for the future.²⁶

This quotation illustrates an important point, which is that the balance of power between the Amerindians and the Dutch colonists, including the Jews, was not clear-cut. Most Amerindians were making their own decisions about if, how, when, where, and why to assist the settlers based on calculations of military, economic, and political advantages that would accrue to them by offering such help. And they were making these decisions as individuals or as small bands, not necessarily as a larger “tribe” of Caribs, Arawaks, or other groups, as a whole. The Dutch authorities and settlers could not blithely count upon Amerindian aid, even from the Amerindians most dependent upon them. Their willingness to help depended on many factors, not least of which were their personal connections to the Dutch colonists and administrators (Kars 2011:267).²⁷

Richard White explores the relationships between Indians and Indians, Europeans and Europeans, and Europeans and Indians in the Great Lakes region of North America between 1649 and 1815 in his now-classic *The Middle-Ground* (White 1991). White demonstrates that during this time, the peoples on this frontier of the British and French empires attempted to find a middle ground in which significant cultural differences could be bridged and a sort of equilibrium could be maintained that allowed not only for significant economic exchange, but also for cultural interchange as well. White argues that for the middle ground to work, neither side could militarily dominate nor extract the other. Because of the demographic balance, all were forced to live together which necessitated a sort of tolerance. White’s theories have some limitations in their applicability to the frontier in Suriname. White, for instance, postulated that the middle ground minimized warfare and kept violence to the interpersonal level, whereas at least low-level warfare was a constant well into the eighteenth century in Suriname. Nevertheless, his overarching point is relevant.

26 NL-HaNa, Second West India Company (WIC), 1.05.01.02, inv. no. 915.

27 NL-HaNA, Sociëteit van Berbice, 1.05.05, inv. no. 226; Kars 2011:267.

The white settlers could not militarily dominate the escaped slaves, as the ongoing Maroon raids and the military expeditions against these formerly enslaved Africans testify. They were eventually forced to sue for peace with some Maroon groups (Thoden van Velzen 1995). They were also careful to ensure that these peaceful relations were maintained. Neither could the Amerindians completely resist the seemingly inexorable progress of white settlers into their former territories, nor the incursion of the escaped slaves into this same territory. Therefore, on this multisided frontier between white (Jewish) settlers, Amerindians, and Maroons, Nassy's "good Indians" chose to leverage their knowledge and skills for their own political, economic, and military advantage. And it is certainly clear that a sort of uneasy equilibrium was maintained in which these divergent cultures did manage to find ways to accommodate each other to varying degrees.

The Frontiers of Communication: Go-Betweens and Translation

This uneasy equilibrium had not always been maintained. The Wild Coast was a hotly contested territory among the European colonizers in the seventeenth century. The English had controlled Suriname but lost out to the incursions of the Zeelanders by 1667. This shift in territorial control was of importance not only to the Dutch and English. It had a clear effect on the Amerindians. Governor Johannes Heinsius blamed the outbreak of the so-called "inland war" with the Indians in the late 1670s on traders such as Abraham Drago and his partners—the *bokkenruylers*—who were said to have stirred up unrest by their trade practices.²⁸ The *bokkenruylers* could have contributed to the conflict and, in fact, ordinances were passed outlawing this sort of trade (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1973:156–157). But the *Historical Essay* opines that "They [the Amerindians] did not want their country to be governed by any nation other than ... the English" (Marcus & Chyet 1974:35). This is, perhaps, an allusion to claims that the Zeelanders, particularly Abel Thisso, the military commander and interim governor, were less than diplomatic in their dealings with the Amerindians (Benjamins & Snelleman 1981:678). Whatever the precise causes of the uprising, it is clear that the various Amerindian groups took advantage of the confusion occasioned by the shifting boundaries of colonial

28 Zeeuws Archief (hereafter ZA), Ingekomen stukken betreffende Suriname en omliggende kwartieren, 1667–1683, inv. no. 2035.3 282. Letter from Abel Thisso, December 18, 1678; 2035.3.312, Letter from Johannes Heijnsius, December 28, 1678.

control and began to strike back at the plantations encroaching on the frontiers with their lands (Buve 1962:21–25).

Among the plantations attacked was that of Samuel Nassy. Heinsius wrote that the Amerindians raided “from above around [the plantation of] Samuel Nassy and from there to further down [Para Creek].” He estimated that there were around 10,000 Indians who attacked the vulnerable plantations on the edges of the colony.²⁹ And apparently they were successful. Abel Thisso wrote that there were forty planters killed and that the Amerindians hoped “to exterminate the entire Dutch and Jewish nation here.”³⁰ That he specifically mentioned the “Jewish nation” shows that their plantations were particularly hard hit, though this was likely due to their location rather than any particular desire to attack Jews, as such. It also shows, of course, that Thisso did not view the Jews as belonging to the “Dutch nation.” The *Historical Essay* tells how the Amerindians “began to devastate the houses and to massacre the whites who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.” According to David Nassy, author of the *Historical Essay*, the help sent by the Zeeland admiralty was “of no use at all.” Therefore, they had to form regiments to defend themselves against the Amerindians who “were already becoming very redoubtable” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:35).

At least one Jew, Samuel Nassy, played a key role in brokering peace with the Amerindians. The *Historical Essay* emphasizes this role by telling how “Monsieur de Sommelsdyk [the new Governor] ... turned his attention to the damage which the Indians were wreaking on the plantations. But, not having sufficient means to check their hostilities, he resolved to seek means to make peace with them. The Jewish community, according to its traditions, still takes pride in having greatly facilitated this peace” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:40). But this role is also verified in other sources. A contemporary report, most likely written as an appendix to a letter sent to the Dutch Republic, describes the crucial role Samuel Nassy, along with Jan van Ruyven, a member of the colonial council, played in putting an end to hostilities. In what can only be described as a sort of “divide and conquer” strategy, Nassy “spent five days with the Arawaks and other Indians on our side to try to convince them to attack our enemies [other Indian groups]” (Mulert 1919:224).

29 ZA, Ingekomen stukken betreffende Suriname en omliggende kwartieren, 1667–1683, inv. no. 2035.3.310, Letter from Johannes Heijnsius, December 28, 1678. This is most likely an inflated estimate.

30 ZA, Ingekomen stukken betreffende Suriname en omliggende kwartieren 1667–1683, inv. no. 2035.3.282, Letter from Abel Thisso, December 18, 1678.

Although this attempt was, apparently, unsuccessful, Nassy was, by all accounts, integral to the eventual settlement with the Amerindians. The *Historical Essay* concludes that Nassy was able to broker this peace because “He had known these Indians since the time of the English (when they were on friendlier terms with the whites), [and] persuaded them to put aside their evil intentions towards the inhabitants” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:40–41). In fact, Samuel Nassy could have been among the group of Jews who sailed from Cayenne with the son of an Indian chief to talk to the Dutch in Suriname.³¹ At any rate, “It was through him, too, and by means of a great number of gifts, that a sort of preliminary peace was concluded” (Marcus & Chyet 1974:41).³² Gift giving was of great importance in the Amerindian communities. The travel writer J.D. Herlein described this importance in his account from the early seventeenth century, in which he explains that “It would be an incredible impoliteness to go for a visit [to an Amerindian community] ... without gifts to give. Therefore, all strangers always have some bits of coral glass or of Crystal or some fish hooks, Needles, Games, or small knives, and other small things on their persons” (Herlein 1718:147). Indeed, the centrality of the ritual exchange of gifts with the Amerindian groups that fell under the umbrella term of “Caribs” was well understood by Europeans. The French were known for their lavish gift-giving, and believed it a price worth paying (Taylor 2012:44). It was, then, Nassy’s knowledge of these rituals and their importance—a knowledge based on his personal relationships with various Amerindians—that was essential for an agreement to be reached.³³

This highlights Nassy’s role as an intermediary, cultural broker, or go-between between the Dutch colonial government and the Amerindians. Go-betweens often inhabit what Richard White defines as the middle ground “in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages.” This space, he argues, is the periphery of the world system; it is the “area between the historical foreground of European invasion and occupation and the background of Indian defeat and retreat.” What is particularly compelling is White’s contention that in the middle ground, “minor agents, allies,

31 ZA 2035.04, June 19, 1668. The Nassy family had been instrumental in setting up the Jewish settlement in Cayenne.

32 Supposedly, the Amerindians were only appeased by Van Sommelsyck marrying one of the daughters of the Amerindian leaders of the uprising.

33 Samuel Nassy continued his productive relationship with the Amerindians. In 1680, several years after the events detailed in this section, Nassy wrote to Governor Heinsius to say that he wanted to sell runaway slaves that had been captured for him by Amerindians. ZA 2035.390, January 30, 1680.

and even subjects at the periphery often guide the course of empires" (White 1991:x–xi).

And there is little doubt that Nassy, as a minor agent, guided, at least in some small way, the course of the Dutch empire in the Americas by helping to put an end to the brutal and costly war with the Amerindians in Suriname. The end of these hostilities, in turn, allowed for more settlements and settlers to arrive in the colony and establish plantations. This led to an increase in the importation of enslaved Africans for plantation agriculture, which irrevocably shifted the demographics of the territory. And so forth. Go-betweens such as Nassy operated on a middle ground where the influence of empire was relatively weak. This weakness made brokers such as Nassy, who had intimate knowledge of the various cultures coming into contact on the frontier, invaluable for the arbitration of relationships. Who became go-betweens and who was served by go-betweens were not inconsequential factors, and Nassy and his ilk were vital to the outcome of the meetings, encounters, negotiations, and conversations which could determine the course of empire (Metcalf 2005:8). As the historian James Merrell emphasizes, go-betweens were perceived as fundamental to the negotiations between colonial officials and Indians (Merrell 1999:28–41).

The Dutch colonial officials needed go-betweens such as Nassy because they had little or no knowledge of the Amerindians with whom they were coming into contact in this frontier zone. The need for greater knowledge is tellingly revealed in a prescient report penned by Governor Lichtenberg in 1669. He wrote:

It is of great importance for the security of the plantations that we have the Indians on our side, which we can accomplish by means of as much civility and politeness towards them as possible. To this end I shall do my best to learn their language, as should we all, because these are a people who can be led where we will if we but speak their language. This was a great advantage for the English and could be for us if our nation will but learn their speech.³⁴

As the subsequent hostilities with the Amerindians proved, not many Dutch settlers had heeded Lichtenberg's good advice, perhaps because of the perceived difficulty of the various languages spoken in the area. George Warren described one of the languages (it is not clear from his account which one) as

34 ZA, 2035.3.164–166, Report made by Julius Lichtenberg to the States General of the Dutch Republic, June 17, 1669.

“sound[ing] well in the expression but is not very easie to be learn’d, because many single Words admit of divers Senses, to be distinguish’d only by the tone or alteration of the voice” (Warren 1667:25).³⁵ Fellow Englishman, Edward Bancroft, writing about the “Worrow” (Waurau) language over a century after Warren, opined, “Their language is dissonant, and the articulations very indistinct, being pronounced with a slow, disagreeable tone” (Bancroft 1776:265–266). Herlein seems to be the exception among early authors describing the Guianas, because he endeavored to include translations of the Carib words in his account (Herlein 1718:249–262). All of which made men such as Nassy who knew the language of the Amerindians even more important as cultural brokers and as translators. This was seen in his ability to employ Amerindians in his forays against the Maroons. But there were other incidents, as well, in which Jews served as translators.

For instance, there is a fascinating story told by the Dutch travel writer Johannes Herlein which illustrates the importance of translation—cultural and linguistic. Herlein wrote about the governor of the colony at the time, Van Sommelsdijk, who had a conflict with someone who was described as “one of the lords of the Indians” in the area of Fort Zeelandia.³⁶ This man killed one of his three wives whom he claimed was adulterous. Polygamy was common in the Amerindian communities, at least for the chiefs. Robert Harcourt’s early seventeenth-century account makes mention of the fact that “The better sort of persons [among the Amerindians] have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wives, the greatest man” (Harcourt 1928:86). George Warren remarked that “These Chiefs or Heads of Families, have commonly three or four Wives a piece” (Warren 1667:25). According to Stedman’s account, it was not just chiefs, but “every Indian is allowed to take as many wives as he can provide for” (Stedman 1971:208).

When this Amerindian man was arrested by the Dutch colonial authorities and sentenced to death, both the man himself, and many of the other

35 Stedman (1972:212) described the language (again, it is not clear which one), as “much resemb[ling] the Italian, their words being sonorous and harmonious, mostly terminating with a vowel.”

36 Herlein may be referring to an incident that occurred sometime between 1684 and 1685 in which an Amerindian “Captain” named Tararica killed an Amerindian woman. Governor van Sommelsdijk sentenced him to death, despite the protests of the colonial council. The council was concerned that sentencing an Amerindian ally to death during a time of such unrest in the colony would lead to their other allies deserting them and illustrates, as well, the aforementioned importance of Amerindian allies to the success of the Dutch colonial endeavors in the Guianas. See Bijlsma 1925.

Amerindians, were extremely upset. They did not understand the ruling. Within their legal and moral code, Herlein related, being sentenced to death for killing one woman was strange because the man had two others (Herlein 1718:52–53). Moreover, physical punishment, at the very least, or the death penalty, seems to have been the norm for adultery within Amerindian communities. Stedman wrote that, “[an Amerindian man is] extremely jealous, and ... he knocks [his wife] on the head the moment he receives a decided proof of her incontinency” (Stedman 1972:208). Harcourt’s earlier account was more explicit. The English traveler stated that “they [the Amerindians] commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them ... the Indians take wives over whom they are extreemly jealous, and expect great continencie in them; for if they [the men] take them [the women] in adultery, they [the men] presently cause their [the womens’] braines to be beaten out” (Harcourt 1928:86). Men were also liable to be punished for committing adultery with another man’s wife. “To violate the chastity of a wife is almost the only injury that draws down this fatal vengeance [death]” related Robert Bancroft (1776:268). A.F. Lammens added that, “Even if he was a white, he [the Amerindian husband] would kill him and his wife then and there” (Lammens, n.d.).

These descriptions highlight the oft-remarked upon low status of women within the Amerindian communities. Warren wrote that “[Wives] who may indeed more properly be term’d their [their husbands’] Vassals than Companions, being no less subjected to their Husbands than the meanest Servants amongst us are to their Masters, they Men rarely oppress their Shoulders with a Burthen, the Women carry all, and are so very humble and observant in their Houses, that at Meals they always wait upon their Husbands” (Warren 1667:25). Warren’s account of the treatment of Amerindian women finds confirmation in Stedman’s, who wrote that “No Indian wife eats with her husband, but serves him as a slave” (Stedman 1972:215). And, even earlier, Harcourt had reported that “Their wives ... are as servants unto them” (Harcourt 1928:86) while Herlein and Lammens remarked upon the same thing in their descriptions of Amerindian communities (Herlein 1718:141; Lammens, n.d.).

Herlein goes on to describe how the governor made use of a translator to talk to this Amerindian chief. Van Sommelsdijk went to “one of the leaders of the Jewish synagogue who understood the Indian language.” It seems likely that this Jew was Samuel Nassy. Nassy was one of the most prominent of the Jewish colonists and was, therefore, probably a leader in the synagogue. Moreover, Nassy was mentioned by name in the same document in which Van Sommelsdijk relates the incident, though in another context, which shows that Van Sommelsdijk was acquainted with him (Bijlsma 1925:45). No matter

whom amongst the Jews the translator was, however, it would seem that the Dutch colonial authorities turned to him not just for an actual translation of the words. After all, there must have been some ability to communicate between the governor and his legal representatives and the accused Amerindian for events to have proceeded as far as they had before the Jewish translator was brought in. The governor, according to Herlein's account, requested that this Jewish man "talk to the Indian and say that God who had created Heaven and Earth had forbidden us to shed blood and that those who shed human blood were condemned to have their blood shed" (Herlein 1718:53).

Various writers have remarked upon religion among the Amerindians. George Warren claimed that "They have no Religion amongst them that ever I could perceive, though they'l [sic] talk of a Captain of the Skies, but neither worship him nor any other ... They have also a glimpse of an after Life, in which shall be Rewards and Punishments for the good and bad" (Warren 1667:26). Stedman, in contrast, asserts that "All the Guiana Indians believe in God as the supreme author of every good, and never inclined to do them an injury; but they worship the devil, whom they call *Yawahoo*, to prevent his afflicting them with evil, and to whom they ascribe pain, disease, wounds, and death" (Stedman 1972:207). Robert Bancroft's description is almost the same as both Warren's and Stedman's, and it is likely that he drew upon Warren (and other writers) heavily (Bancroft 1776:308–309).

It seems clear that the governor felt the need to communicate the theological concepts that were the foundation of their legal decision-making. After all, within the social structure of the Amerindian communities, the man's act was not only not punishable, but was, indeed, expected of him and, therefore, laudable.³⁷ As Lammens described it, "in this matter [adultery] every Indian was responsible for the maintenance of his own authority and had the right to do as he pleased and no one would say he was wrong because it is known by everyone that he is free [to make his own judgment/law] in this matter" (Lammens, n.d.). Adulterous wives within their society were punished by death.³⁸

37 What is particularly intriguing about this case is that, according to a law promulgated in 1669 in Suriname, married adulterers of either sex were to be given the death penalty. "Criminele en penaele wetten ende ordonnantie," February 19, 1669 (Smidt & Van der Lee 1973:34). Thus, the Amerindian's wife would have likely been eligible for the death penalty in any case, though it is not clear if the law was intended to be applied to the Amerindian population.

38 The law mentioned in note 106 seems to have been the exception. Adultery does not even appear as a named offense in the law codes of the rest of the Dutch Americas. The *West Indisch Plakaatboek*(en) for Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba

So translating the punishment meted out by the governor would have required more than just a knowledge of the two languages, as well as some knowledge of the legal structures and cosmologies upon which these legal structures were built within these two cultures. In fact, Stedman recounted an incident in which just this confusion about cosmologies was played out. In a possibly apocryphal passage, an eloquent Amerindian responded to a Swedish minister as follows:

Do you then really believe, that we and our forefathers are all, as you would teach us, condemned to suffer eternal torments in another world, because we have not been taught your mysterious novelties? Are we not the work of God? And can the Almighty not manifest his will without the help of a book? If this is true, and God is just, then how is it consistent with his justice to force life upon us without our consent, and then to condemn us all to eternal damnation, because we did not meet with you. No, Sir, we are convinced that the Christians are more depraved in their morals than we Indians, if we may judge of their doctrines by the general badness of their lives.

STEDMAN 1972:207

So there was already a basis for misunderstanding between Amerindians and the Dutch colonists. Herlein's otherwise relatively extensive lexicon of Carib words reflects this difficulty in translating religious concepts. It is noticeably short in section 10 on "Spiritual or Religious Things" and contains long descriptions in Dutch in order to try to explain the theological and philosophical concepts behind the Carib words (Herlein 1718:261–262). Nevertheless, contemporary observers agreed that the Amerindians had some sort of religious structure with various equivalencies to Christianity, such as the beliefs that Herlein related, "that the soul after death journeys to the Stars, and then goes

do not mention adultery (*boeleren, echtbreuk, overspel, fornicatie*) (Smidt, Van der Lee & Schiltkamp 1978; Smidt & Van der Lee 1979). It is, of course, very possible that some *plakaaten* have yet to be recovered from the archives. In Amsterdam, which became Reformed in 1578, and elsewhere in the United Provinces, punishments for infidelity ranged from a warning from the church, to imprisonment, heavy fines, stripping of ecclesiastic honors, and banishment for a period of six to fifty years (Helmerts 2002:226–278; Verhaar & Van den Brink 1989:64–71; Van der Heijden 1998:143). For a discussion of adultery within the Portuguese Jewish communities of the Dutch Americas, see Ben-Ur & Roitman 2014.

under the Horizon, to a Paradise of pleasure" (Herlein 1718:133).³⁹ It was just that translating this terminology and really grasping these concepts seemed particularly problematic.

The event illustrates the well-known importance of the translator in the New World as being essential to encounters between Europeans and Americans. Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions*, for instance, details how essential translators were in encounters between Europeans and Amerindians. Reflecting on Doña Marina, Cortés's translator, Greenblatt represents her as "The figure in whom all communication between the two opposed cultures was concentrated" (Greenblatt 1991:143). While it might be going too far to say the same of this Jewish translator, it is, nevertheless, clear that he took center stage in a middle ground of a linguistic, cultural, and religious encounter. From this position, he was able to broker between two cultures and two worldviews. In this sense, he had a great deal of power during that moment in time—a moment that was shaping key interactions between Europeans and Amerindians.

Conclusion: Frontiers of Encounter

Abraham Isaac, and the Dragos, David and Samuel Nassy, and no doubt many other Jews, all had real and, to date, unstudied interactions with the Amerindians in Suriname. This is a story that has heretofore been obscured because it lies scattered in documents written for other purposes, and, therefore, this history is concealed between the lines of recorded incidents. Yet these scant primary sources, limited, of course, by having been written by Europeans for their own purposes, which means, in turn, that the Amerindian perspective must be teased out, do allow for glimpses of the complicated dynamics of Amerindian and Jewish interaction in late-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth-century Suriname. The notarial archives of Amsterdam, travel tales and colonial reports, along with the *Historical Essay*, evidence a relationship between Amerindians and Jews that was, in many ways, based on a relative equilibrium of economic and military power, as well as cultural knowledge. This balance was not always maintained in all situations, of course.

For instance, the Jewish communal records of Jodensavanne evidence a large dose of oppression and exclusion. In a suit filed in October 1739, Rebecca Cohen Nassy accused Judith, widow of Jacob Hayim Coutinho, of refusing to return Florinda, an Indian slave who had been transferred to her temporar-

39 Herlein gives a relatively extensive description of Amerindian beliefs on pp. 132–140.

ily.⁴⁰ And Jewish ownership of Amerindians had, by then, been going on for at least fifty-six years, as a notarial deed from faraway Amsterdam proves. Two Portuguese Jewish merchants went to the notary Daniel van den Groe in Amsterdam. On May 11, 1683, Antonio Alvares Machado, who lived in Amsterdam, gave Isaac Semach Ferro, then living in Middelburg, power of attorney. Machado authorized Ferro to buy “for a reasonable price” half of a sugar plantation in Suriname. This plantation, called “The Red Bench,” was to be purchased from the widow and heirs of a man with the last name of Fannius. The purchase of the plantation included not just the land and the sugar mill, but also the “slaves, black children, black women, Indians, horses, cattle, ovens, and boats.”⁴¹

In the ownership of Amerindians, the Jewish population was much like the rest of the non-Jewish white population. The English settlers had enslaved Amerindians from the beginning of their settlement in the territory. The enslavement of Amerindians was stimulated by the arrival of Europeans on this frontier, but was often brought about by the Amerindians themselves. Prisoners were taken and enslaved in conflicts amongst Amerindian groups. This was a long-standing practice that had existed before the arrival of the Europeans. The arrival of Europeans eager to purchase these slaves probably lent a stimulus to the initiation or continuance of hostilities (Whitehead 1999). The Amerindian groups living along the lower loop of the Orinoco were particularly affected by increasing warfare driven by the market for slaves, something noted by various authors at the time (Hartsink 1770:11, 91, 218; Quandt 1968:27, 293; Stähelin 1912:23, 94). These Amerindian slaves were desirable for their role in augmenting the food supplies available on the scattered plantations by means of hunting, gathering, and fishing. Many of these plantations were not self-sufficient and imports of foodstuffs was spotty—a situation which made trading visits such as those made by Abraham Drago and his associates in 1674 who delivered much-needed supplies especially welcome.

The European settlers on the Wild Coast had hoped, with the help of the Amerindians, to be able to produce for themselves the products they traded. However, this hope was quickly proven to be in vain. As one planter remarked, “[The Amerindians] were totally unwilling [to work on the plantations], very sparsely settled, and unsuitable for heavy field work” (Netscher 1888:15). Therefore, the West India Company began importing enslaved Africans to the region

40 NL-NaHa, Portugees-Israëlitische Gemeente Suriname, 1.05.11.18, inv. no. 324, October 6, 1739.

41 SAA, NA 4106A/447. The first name of Mr. Fannius is not given.

by the middle of the seventeenth century. Yet the supply of these African slaves was unreliable and, when shipments did arrive, there were rarely enough slaves to meet the demand of the colonists. This, in turn, meant that colonists, including the Portuguese Jewish settlers, continued to use enslaved Amerindians, despite their presumed “unsuitability” for working in the fields.

But despite this clear exploitation and abuse, these same documents show there was also cooperation through trade and the constant Maroon wars. Abraham Drago and his Dutch partners cooperated with Amerindians in the interior of the Guianas in order to conduct trade and connect this frontier of the Dutch empire with Europe—and Amerindians were vital to this connection. There was alliance against what was likely a common enemy—the Maroons—in a few decades’ worth of military operations. And there was also cultural brokerage with Jews acting as translators and as go-betweens, mediating between the Amerindians and the Dutch colonial authorities, linguistically, culturally, and even religiously.

This last function—the function of translator and go-between—is the most intriguing aspect of Jewish and Amerindian interactions in colonial Suriname. Oppression such as the enslavement of Amerindians was hardly unique to the Portuguese Jewish community in Suriname. It was widespread amongst all the European settlers, despite intermittent government attempts to stop it. Likewise, trade with the Amerindians along the waterways of the Wild Coast was established early in the seventeenth century, and was conducted by the Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English. Though the Portuguese Jews may have been highly visible in these activities, this visibility is most likely due to their high percentage among the overall white population rather than any particular proclivities for either enslavement or trade.

There was not necessarily anything especially Jewish about these interactions. But the role of go-between and of translator between the Amerindians and Dutch colonial authorities is the interaction that does seem to have been at least somewhat unique to the Portuguese Jews in colonial Suriname. The other go-betweens noted in the records of the colonial Guianas were people of mixed race such as the male members of the free “Christian mulatto” Broer family who were called upon by the colonial government in nearby Berbice for their language skills and positions of trust to mediate between the Amerindians and the colonial authorities (Kars 2011:266). R. David Edmunds has recently suggested studying mixed-bloods, individuals of mixed cultural and genetic lineage, such as the Broer family, as a way of furthering the understanding of the concept of the middle ground. Once regarded as unimportant, mixed-bloods are being reappraised. “Far from being outcasts between two cultures, [they] bridged cultural gaps between these groups and also served as intermediaries

between frontier societies and European or American governments” (Edmunds 1989; Edmunds 1995).

That the Portuguese Jews were also playing the role of go-betweens and translators, despite not being mixed-bloods, is perhaps not so surprising. Translators and go-betweens were often displaced people, who had been “translated” themselves from one region and one culture to another. This is clearly the case of Portuguese Jews such as Samuel and David Nassy, who lived literally and figuratively between worlds. As Portuguese Jews they had experienced exclusion, uncertainty, and constant migration, both voluntary and forced. Their migrations had given them a linguistic advantage, but also a cultural step-up in interacting with the Amerindian population. Interpreters and go-betweens formed a distinctive group in which members of marginal communities were important. They were often émigrés, exiles or refugees taking advantage of their liminal position and making a career of mediating between people (Burke 2005:23).

When an anonymous Jew, likely Samuel Nassy, translated the Dutch Reformed theological concepts of retribution to the unnamed Amerindian condemned by the Dutch Governor van Sommelsdijk, he took center stage in a middle ground of a linguistic, cultural, and religious encounter. From this central position, he was able to broker between two cultures and two world-views. He stood, in fact, in the middle ground where history was occurring—where various peoples interacted. And it is at these localized areas that the local “agents of empire” such as Samuel Nassy determined how the empire itself would play its role. Because words, exchanges, and interactions had far-reaching consequences for all parties involved.

Oppression, exclusion, and alliance are themes common in any frontier zone such as Suriname where cultures come into contact, collide, and connect. Frontiers are, after all, geographic zones of interaction between two or more distinctive cultures and are places where cultures meet, clash, and exchange. As this article has shown, Suriname functioned not only as a frontier zone or borderland between European empires but also between cultures and peoples. And the meetings, clashes, and exchanges between Jews and Amerindians can be a lens through which to analyze this zone of encounter, specifically, as well as the dynamics of frontier encounters more generally. Ultimately, the relationship between Jews and Amerindians incorporates many of the thematic narratives of colonial Suriname—discovery, exploration, the history of indigenous groups, slavery, and the development of commercial agriculture, the influence of (minority) religious groups, and the formation of religious and ethnic identity. But this relationship also illustrates the dynamics at play on the frontiers of nation and empire. These are places where peoples who are “in between” such as the Portuguese Jews and Amerindians inhabit ambiguous

and shifting spaces where boundaries cross and change, where what is central and what is peripheral is often uncertain, and where the divisions between individual, groups, and states is porous.

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Review Articles



War Politics and War Games in Puerto Rico

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Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial: Baluarte del Caribe. Jorge Rodríguez Beruff & José L. Bolívar Fresneda (eds.). San Juan: Ediciones Callejón, 2012. 533 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.00)

Battleship Vieques: Puerto Rico from World War II to the Korean War. César J. Ayala & José L. Bolívar. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2011. v + 220 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

These books on Puerto Rico in the World War II era address geopolitics in close interaction with the social and political history of the island during a crucial conjuncture of the twentieth century. The collection of twenty articles in *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* represents the best of contemporary research on U.S. militarism in Puerto Rico. *Battleship Vieques* documents the expropriation of two-thirds of Puerto Rico's offshore island of Vieques in the 1940s and the creation of the largest navy bombing range in the Atlantic.

Two opening essays by Jorge Rodríguez-Beruff challenge interpretations of the period. Developments during World War II, he argues, are key to understanding how the United States accomplished a restrained transformation “from a traditional colonial model to a more modern arrangement” (p. 31). He focuses on the 1939–40 period and takes issue with widely-shared explanations that hold World War II in the background and focus on the governorship of

Rexford G. Tugwell in 1941–45 and his collaboration and divergences with Luis Muñoz Marín and the Popular Democratic Party (PPD).

Puerto Rican politics in the 1930s was dominated by a conservative, pro-sugar industry alliance (the *Coalición*) that included a prostatehood party and a trade unionist party, in control of a corrupt island legislature. The *Coalición* was strongly supported by governor Blanton Winship and by the almighty Division of Territories and Insular Possessions in Washington. The Roosevelt administration as a whole remained stubbornly colonialist. Muñoz Marín fell out of favor when he refused to denounce the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, whose violent acts were in retaliation against persecution by the colonial government.

Muñoz Marín found an audience again in Washington only after 1939, when the war in Europe “urgently raised the question of political stability” in Puerto Rico and in the Caribbean as a whole (p. 38). The appointment of Admiral William D. Leahy (a former chief of naval operations and Roosevelt military adviser) as governor was a major turning-point. Rodríguez-Beruff argues that the alignment of forces was set then, and not later during Tugwell’s governorship. Large military investments in Puerto Rico during the war were also an important, if subsidiary, factor. Rodríguez-Beruff calls attention, with good reason, to the importance of World War II—in particular, early U.S. defense planning and policies. Yet his emphasis on the issue of “political stability” tends to blur Puerto Rico’s nationalist and labor upheavals of the 1930s.

In his second article, Rodríguez-Beruff explores another 1939–41 turnaround, this one by Muñoz Marín himself. For just as Washington suddenly tolerated Muñoz Marín, and on the eve of the PPD’s razor-thin victory in 1940, Muñoz Marín “postponed” the struggle for independence in favor of ardent support for democracy against fascism, in conjunction with wide-ranging social reform. Less clear is how and when Muñoz shifted from genuine wartime postponement of the status issue to elevating colonial autonomy as a permanent “Commonwealth” status, or how much Muñoz Marín’s “antifascist” message actually swayed proindependence forces. Nor can we discount Muñoz Marín’s personal ambition and his drive toward consolidating power.

Michael Janeway considerably broadens our perspective on Tugwell. Contrary to widely-held belief, Janeway demonstrates that Tugwell was not cut off from Washington in the Second New Deal and was a vital intermediary between the Roosevelt administration and Muñoz, who certainly *was* cut off in 1937, Janeway argues. Muñoz remained on the fringes of Washington power, regardless of Roosevelt’s strategic expressions of praise for Muñoz. Roosevelt and Muñoz “distrusted each other completely” (p. 112).

Tugwell was a key intermediary between Muñoz and Washington during

the wartime years, when political conflict in Puerto Rico between the PPD and the Coalición only intensified. Janeway argues that the Tugwell-Muñoz relationship was cordial and complex, and was actually part of a quartet that included FDR and Harold L. Ickes. Hence Tugwell's relationship with the FDR administration was highly relevant to his accomplishments, for the consolidation of Muñoz's political power and for the PPD's historic landslide electoral victory in 1944. Another player was one of the most nebulous and interesting Brain Trusters, Charles William Taussig, heir to and president of the American Molasses Company. Taussig, who was well acquainted with the Caribbean, was Roosevelt's choice for the governorship of Puerto Rico after Admiral Leahy. Taussig cochaired the Caribbean Commission (see below) and remained FDR's chief adviser on Puerto Rican and Caribbean affairs until 1943 or 1944. Tugwell, with Muñoz, may have finessed Taussig's departure at a key juncture ... a topic for further research. Unlike Rodríguez-Beruff, Janeway sees open political outcomes at least until 1944. Without Tugwell's political and personal skills, Janeway contends, Muñoz's opposition could have prevailed in Washington. At times, Janeway's emphasis on Tugwell's role seems disproportionate, but he is right to emphasize the political struggles of 1940–44.

Norberto Barreto-Velázquez registers Tugwell's assessments of the war and Roosevelt's policies which sometimes were critical despite his devotion to FDR. Tugwell admitted to doubts about U.S. entry into the war and was concerned about its effects on domestic programs. Barreto-Velázquez's account underscores the importance of contextualizing Tugwell's years in Puerto Rico within his full political and intellectual trajectory.

José Bolívar-Fresneda's article on U.S. military expenditures in Puerto Rico during World War II makes the case that these were the "central factor" in economic development in the 1940s and 1950s. He argues, with good reason, that prevailing explanations of Puerto Rico's social transformation focus narrowly on agrarian reform, land distribution, state-owned factories, and Operation Bootstrap. Bolívar-Fresneda's extensive research offers an important corrective to earlier interpretations, which generally failed to recognize massive military expenditures and the full impact of World War II on Puerto Rico. (See also Bolívar-Fresneda 2011.)

However, differences between wartime expenditures and the earlier New Deal programs need not be overdrawn. These initiatives were federal in part but also involved Puerto Ricans in policymaking roles. More importantly, the social and economic transformations that Puerto Rican society experienced in the early 1940s and their political consequences—while not as momentous as the peaceful revolution that PPD apologists claim—cannot be underestimated. The way forward in the historiography of the late 1930s–1940s in Puerto Rico

may be to explore the interactions and contradictions between these dimensions, rather than attempt new interpretations that are, or at least seem to be, largely monocausal. The discussion of Puerto Rico's "military economy" of the 1940s also needs to be placed in the wider framework of the U.S. political economy, where World War II expenditures ushered in a vastly expanded civilian federal state and military-industrial complex.

The more general chapters in the first part of *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* are followed by fourteen articles on strategy and military aspects, bases and local communities, war and society, and communications and press. Ligia Domenech-Abreu narrates the fascinating and enormously effective, though short-lived German submarine offensive in the Atlantic in 1941–42 and explains in detail the objectives of that campaign as well as its successes and failures.

Mayra Rosario-Urrutia's comprehensive account of the background and activities of the U.S.–Great Britain Caribbean Commission portrays the delicate situation created by the transfer to the United States under the Lend-Lease Agreement of British bases in Caribbean islands recently shaken by social conflict. The crucial, and most intriguing, objective of the Commission was a Caribbean federation under U.S. hegemony. Rosario-Urrutia traces the development of the so-called "Taussig Plan" or "Caribbean Plan," which was almost unanimously rejected by Puerto Rican public opinion, though the plan was supposedly well received by political leaders in the British West Indies, who believed that the United States would grant independence more readily than Britain (!). Gerardo Piñero-Cádiz chronicles the construction of coastal defenses and captures the climate of impending danger (particularly in 1942) amid regular blackouts when "an air attack, an amphibious invasion, or the landing of saboteurs" was considered a serious possibility (p. 249).

In the book's section on military installations and local communities, Carlos González-Morales and Piñero-Cádiz document the establishment of the two major bases in Puerto Rico, Borinquen (later Ramey) Field and Roosevelt Roads. Both articles offer valuable information on the impact of these bases on rural communities. A common theme is the eviction of hundreds of families, most of whom were *agregados* without formal legal title but who had, in most cases, longstanding de facto rights. The virtual mirage of booming employment during base construction facilitated the expropriations. Other common themes are the rapid, profound transformation of rural areas, including the growth of prostitution.

Josefa Santiago-Caraballo presents a further consequence of World War II in Puerto Rico: the connection between the first agrarian reform projects and the construction of military bases, including Roosevelt Roads. Hundreds of parcels

were distributed in usufruct to the expropriated *agregados* (though not in Borinquen Field). While in one sense Santiago-Caraballo's findings confirm the ubiquitous role of the U.S. military, one may also ask if these initial expropriations were facilitated by their direct connection to military needs, and helped legitimate later agrarian reform projects unrelated to the military. The article on Vieques by Bolívar-Fresneda and César Ayala summarizes the argument in *Battleship Vieques* (reviewed below).

Several articles in *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* address the social consequences of World War II in Puerto Rico. Cruz Ortiz-Cuadra's article on food supplies and diet analyzes the struggles over food distribution in Washington and San Juan, as government officials attempted control of the distribution chains in order to avoid speculation (p. 375). Various enactments are explained, but actual outcomes are less clear. Government food officials ultimately may not have pressed the issue because the food shortages did not truly reach crisis proportions.

Other articles address narrower topics such as Ponce in wartime, the family memoir of a Puerto Rican recruit, and "patriotic" wartime propaganda in the public school system and in the local press. The closing article in the collection, by Luis Rosario Albert, is on the acquisition of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company (then owned by ITT) by the island government—a transaction that Muñoz himself derailed, over Tugwell's opposition. The article interestingly locates that controversy in the context of the relationship between ITT (which had strong roots in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands), the European Fascist powers, and U.S. armed forces.

The articles in *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* are on the whole outstanding, and the book usefully underscores the many-sided importance of World War II for modern Puerto Rico. However, the authors at times overemphasize both the war's significance for Puerto Rico, and the island's importance in the war. The three Caribbean zones where the German submarine presence was strongest were the Windward Passage, Trinidad, and Curaçao-Aruba—not Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico was also not the main U.S. military outpost in the Caribbean. The Panama Canal Zone—virtually a U.S. domestic waterway—was far more strategic than any Caribbean island. And Guantánamo was the assembly point for merchant shipping convoys between the East Coast and the Caribbean. A broader understanding of the multiple periods and theaters of World War II will give us a better sense of the locus of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean in that vast process. Puerto Rico's relative importance early in the war did not carry over to the later phases of the conflict, when the fighting moved from the Atlantic to the Soviet Union and the insular Pacific. Moreover, the crucial 1944 elections in Puerto Rico occurred at a juncture that was

drastically different from 1941–42. Cross-referencing between the articles and discussion on points of agreement and disagreement would have helped to frame those broader questions and further stimulate research.

Battleship Vieques is a well-documented overview of the history of Vieques (six miles southeast of Puerto Rico) from the Spanish colonial epoch. The book focuses on the expropriation of two-thirds of the island in the 1940s and the creation of a major navy/marine corps bombing range and maneuver area. The end of naval maneuvers in Vieques in 2003, after a massive campaign of civil disobedience, hardly implies that historical research on that island has lost importance—quite the contrary. (See, for example, Rivera-Martínez 1965, Meléndez 1982, Ayala 2001, McCaffrey 2002; Fabián 2003, Ayala & Bolívar-Fresneda 2006, Ayala & Carro-Figueroa 2006; and Santiago 2007.)

Research on Vieques is evolving as new sources become available and its experience is reassessed in broader contexts. Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda connect social, political, and military dimensions in ways that give students of Vieques much to ponder, sometimes going to the heart of debates on Caribbean history and (quite literally) the nature of colonialism. They argue that the presence of the U.S. Navy drove Vieques in a direction opposite to that of the rest of Puerto Rico, which underwent an economic and social transformation. In fact, their argument captures the two inseparable faces of colonialism: on the one hand, precarious material progress, and on the other raw military power, outright dispossession, and ecological devastation.

The opening chapter of *Battleship Vieques* argues that Germany's Caribbean submarine offensive in 1941–42 provoked a food crisis that triggered the PPD agrarian reforms as well as the expropriations in Vieques. Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda reinterpret the economic transformations of Puerto Rico in the 1940s as being largely a result of the inflow of federal (mostly military) expenditures. Another general chapter addresses the overtly racist policies followed by the U.S. military in Puerto Rico at the time, an issue that deserves far more extensive treatment

The most riveting chapters in *Battleship Vieques* document the U.S. Navy's draconian expropriation of over a thousand *agregado* families, mostly from western Vieques. The expropriations/evictions were, in many cases, carried out literally overnight, with no compensation other than minute house plots elsewhere in Vieques. The authors' research is impressive, but their argument on the land rights of the *Viequesenses* remains ambiguous. On the one hand, they recognize that the Vieques *agregados* had "traditional usufruct rights" that were "part of the landscape, almost legally ascribed to the land" (pp. 51, 55), in many cases on plots as large as two acres, plus access to prolific seashore and mangrove ecologies. Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda fully recognize the multiple

impacts of the expropriations, including a “widespread feeling of dispossession” (p. 56) and blast navy rule.

On the other hand, they argue that Vieques had become the most extreme instance of land concentration and plantation society in Puerto Rico long before the U.S. Navy, and that as a result, its *agregados* were no more than resident wage laborers on sugar estate land. This assessment, ironically, converges with the navy’s stated position that the *agregados* were but squatters. The *agregado* issue is evidently a complex topic (not just in Vieques) that needs further investigation and comparative study. Given the state of research, it might be preferable to acknowledge large grey zones and set forth key problems. We also need to open up questions on Vieques history and its agrarian relations; for example, was Vieques uninhabited and lacking a peasant substratum before plantation development, as Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda contend? “Plantation Vieques” could be as much an oversimplification as the navy’s view of a “BattleShip Vieques.”

The sweeping expropriations in Vieques may not have been a result of wartime military necessity, but rather part of a navy plan to depopulate Vieques and turn the entire island into a bombing range and maneuver area. The key navy projects of the 1941–43 “boom” were the construction of two breakwaters, a quarry where the stone for the breakwaters was excavated, and the construction of munitions depots—all in western Vieques, where the evictions hit hardest. The breakwaters were to form a harbor between Vieques and the main island of Puerto Rico that would shelter 60 percent of the U.S. Atlantic fleet and the entire British fleet in the event of a German invasion of Britain—a possibility that was believed imminent in the summer of 1940. Construction of the breakwaters was to receive two-thirds of the funds assigned to the entire project: \$23.3 million of the \$35 million total, while only \$1 million was to be used for land acquisitions in Vieques. Only a portion of this was actually spent, as the project was abruptly suspended in the summer of 1943, but clearly the “Roosevelt Roads/Vieques” base construction project was essentially the breakwaters.

Military historians may have the last word on this, but it would appear that a German takeover of the British fleet was out of the question as early as the summer of 1941, when Germany invaded the Soviet Union, effectively ending its offensive on the western/Atlantic fronts. In the meantime the evicted *agregados* of western Vieques continued working in a massive, well-paying, and seemingly long-term construction project. That the breakwater project may have been continued artificially until 1943—when the first round of expropriations ended—suggests that the navy’s plan for a permanent presence in Vieques and for turning all of Vieques into a depopulated maneuver area predated the 1947

announcement of its training objectives and the relocation of the island's entire population. On the whole, the expropriations relocated the island's entire population into one-third of its territory. The expropriated land in the most densely populated and fertile west part of the island remained largely unused except for munitions depots, which raises still more questions.

On the economic impact of the Vieques expropriations, Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda argue that "contrary to the commonplace assumption of an invariably disastrous situation in Vieques" (p. 73), a more complex interpretation should include the navy-generated construction surge, "the greatest economic boom in [Vieques] history," during and immediately after the expropriations (pp. 69, 73–74). In a questionable periodization of the 1942–48 period, they render the time of the expropriations as coterminous with "prosperity," followed by "a disastrous period," after the construction projects ended, and then "a period of partial recovery" after the Puerto Rican government took some employment initiatives (p. 73).

"Partial recovery" may be a euphemism, since Ayala and Bolívar-Fresneda recognize that the government initiatives were largely unsuccessful. In any case, any degree of "recovery" fell apart with another round of navy expropriations, the beginning of joint maneuvers in 1947–48, and further expropriations in 1950. Hence, characterizing a fourth period of Vieques-Navy relations—far longer than the first three—would be in order: a period when every year brought a two-month "high season" of bombings by day and drunken sailors by night; few alternatives beyond liquor sales, laundry work, and prostitution; and navy restrictions on other employment alternatives, marine and air transport, and sea fishing, newly taken up by a number of *Viequenses*. Though one may disagree with some aspects of *Battleship Vieques*, and the absence of any discussion on the full Culebra-Vieques range complex is significant (see Feliciano-Encarnación 2009), the book is well researched and offers ample information on Vieques during and immediately after World War II.

When Mao Zedong said—to paraphrase—that the only difference between war and politics is bloodshed, he could have added that wartime politics is neither and both, and that bloodshed takes many forms (cases in point: the PPD's crushing victory over the Coalición in 1944, or the Vieques expropriations). At the intersection of military, political, and social history, *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* and *Battleship Vieques* will greatly interest students of the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean, and will be quite an eye-opener for those who are not.

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Bookshelf 2013

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Most of our reviewers are so nice—and efficient in managing their time. More than half send in their reviews by the due date, and many others only a few weeks later. Some are accompanied by touching apologies. From emails of the past few weeks: “Apologies for sending you this 24 hours after the deadline—it’s been a grueling term”; “My deepest apologies for the tardiness of my review. I had a baby earlier this semester, and both the pregnancy and the birth put me a bit behind schedule”; “Thank you for sending such a polite reminder. I was feeling so guilty I was reluctant to open it, but now I have the target of December 31st and I intend to hit it”; and a final one: “I was hoping to submit the review by the deadline. But, alas, I haven’t completed it; I’ve written about half of it. In addition to attending two international conferences in November, I was forced to set aside the review to grade mid-term exams and create final exams. While I will continue to work on the review, the next week or so will be crazy as I’ll be administering final exams and research papers in preparation for the end of the academic term. Thanks for your understanding.” We gladly grant our understanding.

As we noted last year, we continue to enjoy the contact with fellow Caribbeanists that *NWIG* book reviewing affords, and it’s a wonderful way to keep up with publishing on the region. The one unpleasant part of our job is dealing with the fate of those books that cannot be brought to the attention of *NWIG* readers because the promised review has failed to materialize. We offer laggard reviewers a series of gentle reminders, extended deadlines, and the option of passing the book on to another reviewer, but when none of that works, our only recourse is to announce in our annual Bookshelf listing the reason for the absence of a review of a particular book. (One reviewer was sufficiently offended by the “threat” of inclusion in the Caribbeanist Hall of Shame last year to persuade us to drop that title. But because we feel that authors deserve to know why there’s no discussion in the *NWIG* of a particular book they wrote, we are continuing the practice of indicating [by initials] reviewers who simply

hold onto the book in question.) This year's unfortunately large crop (listed alphabetically by the book's author) includes the following:

- Creole Testimonies: Slave Narratives from the British West Indies, 1709–1838*, by Nicole N. Aljoe (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$80.00) (J—n G—e)
- The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, edited by Jerry Bannister & Liam Riordan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012, paper US\$29.95) (J—n P—s)
- Sexuality, Social Exclusion and Human Rights: Vulnerability in the Caribbean Context of HIV*, edited by Christine Barrow, Marjan de Bruin & Robert Carr (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009, paper US\$24.95) (V—a A—d-J—s)
- The Portable Island: Cubans at Home in the World*, edited by Ruth Behar & Lucía M. Suárez (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, paper US\$28.00) (K—n H—g)
- Banished to the Homeland: Dominican Deportees and their Stories of Exile*, by David C. Brotherton & Luis Barrios (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, paper US\$29.50) (C—s V—r S—o)
- Revisiting the Transatlantic Triangle: The Constitutional Decolonization of the Eastern Caribbean*, by Rafael Cox Alomar (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009, paper US\$24.95) (R—t E. M—e)
- Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture*, by Madeleine Dobie (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010, cloth US\$69.95) (D—e R—s)
- Migration, Mining, and the African Diaspora: Guyana in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, by Barbara P. Josiah (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, cloth US\$85.00) (C—a M—t)
- Islanded Identities: Constructions of Postcolonial Cultural Insularity*, edited by Mave McCusker & Anthony Soares (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011, cloth US\$81.00) (D—a G—n)
- In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939*, by Minkah Makalani (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011, cloth US\$39.95) (W—n J—s)
- A Grammar of Saramaccan Creole*, by John McWhorter & Jeff Good (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012, cloth US\$210.00) (V—e H—o)
- The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*, by Nicholas Mirzoeff (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011, paper US\$26.95) (J—I C—d)
- Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain*, by Catherine Molineux (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012, cloth US\$49.95) (R—d D—n)
- Afro-Cuban Identity in Post-Revolutionary Novel and Film: Inclusion, Loss, and Cultural Resistance*, by Andrea Easley Morris (Lanham MD: Bucknell University Press, 2012, cloth US\$65.00) (P—o S—y)

- Cuban Identity and the Angolan Experience*, by Christabelle Peters (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$85.00) (K—n Q—n)
- Sex, Power, and Taboo: Gender and HIV in the Caribbean and Beyond*, edited by Dorothy Roberts, Rhoda Reddock, Dianne Douglas & Sandra Reid (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009, paper US\$35.00) (V—a A—d J—s)
- Caribbean Liberators: Bold Brilliant and Black Personalities and Organizations, 1900–1989*, by Jerome Teelucksingh (Palo Alto CA: Academica Press, 2013, cloth US\$79.95) (G—e L—n)
- Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*, by Deborah A. Thomas (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011, paper US\$23.95) (Y—e H—e)
- Critical Perspectives on Afro-Latin American Literature*, edited by Antonio D. Tillis (London: Routledge, 2011, cloth US\$125.00) (C—d J—s)
- Tacit Subjects: Belonging, Same Sex Desire, and Daily Life among Dominican Immigrant Men*, by Carlos Ulises Decena (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011, paper US\$23.95) (E—r R—a C—n)
- To and from Utopia in the New Cuban Art*, by Rachel Weiss (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011, paper US\$34.95) (L—y L—d)

In addition, there were three books that could not in the end be reviewed because of special circumstances well beyond the reviewer's control:

- Negro Comrades of the Crown: African Americans and the British Empire Fight the U.S. Before Emancipation*, by Gerald Horne (New York: New York University Press, 2012, cloth US\$39.00)
- The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution*, by Malick W. Ghachem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, paper US\$26.99)
- The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti*, by Kate Ramsey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, cloth US\$45.00)

This year, once again, we also list books of interest to Caribbeanists that have not been reviewed in the journal because the publishers have failed, after at least two requests from us, to get them to the reviewers. We remain puzzled as to why these books never arrived and suspect diverse reasons, as most of these publishers do routinely send out the books that we request. But there seems to be an increasing number of books that publishers simply fail to send. In any case, here are the books that were never received by our willing reviewers (which, in the case of fiction and poetry, means ourselves):

- Destined for a Life of Service: Defining African-Jamaican Womanhood, 1865–1938*, by Henrice Altink (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2011, cloth US\$95.00)

- Guide de la recherche en histoire antillaise et guyanaise*, edited by Danielle Bégot (Paris: CTHS, 2012, paper €55.00)
- Havana Beyond the Ruins: Cultural Mappings after 1989*, edited by Anke Birkenmaier & Esther Whitfield (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 24.95)
- Mixed Company: Three Early Jamaican Plays*, edited by Yvonne Brewster (London: Oberon, 2012, paper US\$ 29.95) [includes Sylvia Winter's *Maskarade* (1970), Louis Marriot's *Bedward* (1960), and Cicely Waite-Smith's *The Creatures* (1954)]
- Prendre nom aux Antilles: Individu et appartenances (XVII–XIXe siècle)*, by Vincent Cousseau (Paris: CTHS, 2013, paper €28.00) [a study of slave first names]
- Les arpenteurs des confins: Explorateurs de l'intérieur de la Guyane (1720–1860)*, edited by Francis Dupuy (Paris: CTHS, 2012, paper €40.00)
- Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic during the Age of Revolution*, by James Epstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, paper US\$ 32.99)
- A Geographic Perspective of Cuban Landscapes*, by Jennifer Gebelein (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer, 2012, cloth US\$ 129.00)
- Among the Bloodpeople: Politics and Flesh*, by Thomas Glave (New York: Akashic, 2013, paper US\$ 15.95)
- Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present*, by Julian Go (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 99.00)
- Fictions of Feminine Citizenship: Sexuality and the Nation in Contemporary Caribbean Literature*, by Donette Francis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, cloth US\$ 80.00)
- Food and Identity in the Caribbean*, edited by Hanna Garth (London: Bloomsbury, 2013, paper £17.99)
- Geographies of the Haitian Diaspora*, edited by Regine O. Jackson (London: Routledge, 2011, cloth US\$ 125.00)
- Organized Agriculture and the Labor Movement before the UFW: Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, California*, by Dionicio Nodín Valdés (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011, paper US\$ 37.00)
- Slaves to Sweetness: British and Caribbean Literatures of Sugar*, by Carl Plasa (Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 95.00)
- Cuban–Latin American Relations in the Context of a Changing Hemisphere*, edited by Gary Prevost & Carlos Oliva Campos (Amherst NY: Cambria, 2011, cloth US\$ 104.99)
- Border Crossings: A Trilingual Anthology of Caribbean Women Writers*, edited by Nicole Roberts & Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 25.00)
- Cric? Crac! Fables de La Fontaine racontées par un montagnard haïtien et transcrites en vers créoles* (avec un CD de fables créoles lues par Mylène Wagram et la collaboration de Roger Little), by Georges Sylvain (Paris: L' Harmattan, paper €28.00)

Cuba: People, Culture, History, edited by Alan West-Durán (New York: Gale, 2011, cloth US\$ 425.00)

Mythical Indies & Columbus's Apocalyptic Letter: Imagining the Americas in the Late Middle Ages, by Elizabeth Moore Willingham (Brighton, U.K.: Sussex Academic, 2012, cloth US\$ 82.50)

There are several books for which we valiantly tried to find a reviewer (that is, we asked three, four, or sometimes more scholars over a period of months) but found no takers. We list those volumes here:

Les Marrons Boni de Guyane: Lutttes et survie en logique coloniale (1712–1889) (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2013, paper € 40.00), by Aluku-born historian Jean Moomou, received the 2013 Prix du Marronnage (awarded by a Guyanais association whose president is the publisher of Ibis Rouge). But, in declining our invitation, people we asked to review it cited spotty scholarship, a fragmentary engagement with the literature, and overblown claims.

The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. expansion in Central America, by Jason M. Colby (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 45.00)

Cooperatives and Socialism: A View from Cuba, edited by Camila Piñeiro Harnecker (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 100.00)

Hope Transformed: A Historical Sketch of the Hope Landscape, St Andrew, Jamaica, 1660–1960, by Veront M. Satchell (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 65.00)

Sugar in the Blood: A Family's Story of Slavery and Empire, by Andrea Stuart (London: Portobello, 2012, paper £ 18.99)

As has long been our custom, we begin our annual roundup of books with fiction, poetry, and drama—genres not otherwise reviewed in the *NWIG*.

First, Haiti. Edwige Danticat's *Claire of the Sea Light* (New York: Knopf, 2013, cloth US\$ 25.95) is a luminous, haunting fable set in a small seaside *bourg* very much like her hometown of Léogâne that speaks volumes about class and violence in Haiti, and about human foibles more generally. She writes so beautifully about horror, as well as love!

Évelyne Trouillot's *Absences sans frontières* (Montpellier, France: Éditions Chèvre feuille étoilée, 2013, paper € 15.00), is the fifth novel by this poet-playwright who was awarded the 2010 Prix Carbet de la Caraïbe for her previous novel. Through the voices of a young woman, her grandmother, and her aunt in Haiti's capital and her father in Brooklyn whom she has never met but who devotes his life to earning money at mean jobs so that she may have a brighter future, this montage reveals family intimacies, the rough and lonely

life of undocumented aliens in New York, the recent earthquake and its aid workers, as viewed by somewhat bewildered residents, all set against the background of the past two decades of tumultuous political upheavals. History as experienced from within.

Bob Shacochis's *The Woman who Lost her Soul* (New York: Atlantic Monthly, cloth US\$28.00) is ambitious, sprawling, and overwritten, yet still something of a page-turner (all 713 of 'em). The story is set mainly in 1990s Haiti (drawing on the author's 1999 non-fiction book, *The Immaculate Invasion*), but with flashbacks to Croatia during World War II and Turkey during the 1980s. It constitutes a searing indictment of American imperialism and arrogance as well as a grim assessment of humanity—"He thought at first it was Haiti but he would come to know otherwise—the planet was chock full of expendable people, overflowing with targets, and genocide an organic event, as common as a wheat harvest." Shacochis depicts a shadowy, violent, rapacious world dominated by hoodlums and neocon politicians, operatives of the CIA, FBI, DEA, Special Forces, and various Delta Force teams, not to mention corrupt Haitian police and politicians, and sadistic U.N. "Peacekeepers," and in which nothing is as it seems and the concurrent wars against drugs and terror seem without end.

The Roving Tree (New York: Akashic, 2013, paper US\$15.95) is Haitian-American Elsie Augustave's debut novel—bittersweet, uneven, and at times clichéd, yet it moves seamlessly and engagingly between Duvalier-era Haiti, Westchester County NY, and Zaire, and, in the end, suggests that a serious new voice in Caribbean fiction is being born.

The anthology *So Spoke the Earth / Ainsi parla la terre / Tè a pale* (South Florida: Women Writers of Haitian Descent, 2012, paper US\$30.00), edited by M.J. Fievre, collects fiction, poetry, and non-fiction in English, French, and Haitian Creole from a number of writers, both Haitian and non-Haitian, well-known and less so. Many of the pieces, which have death lurking in the background, positively shine.

Toussaint Louverture. The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History: A Play in Three Acts, by C.L.R. James, edited and introduced by Christian Høgsbjerg (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2013, paper US\$23.95), is the exciting first publication of James's 1934 play, recently discovered in a British archive. Performed in 1936 in London, with Paul Robeson in the leading role, this precursor (and strong complement) to *The Black Jacobins* is usefully contextualized by the editor, who has included, besides the full text of the play, a number of relevant letters, reviews, and statements by both James and Robeson, elucidating political and artistic concerns of the day. For any Jamesian or Haitianist, it's a must-read.

Turning to the Anglophone West Indies, *As Flies to Whatless Boys* (New York: Akashic, 2013, paper US\$15.95), Trinidadian Robert Antoni's latest novel, is by turns gripping and hilarious, a wonderful tall tale of a group of nineteenth-century English pioneers in Trinidad, led by a madcap German charlatan-inventor of such machines as a sugar crystallizer that requires neither heat nor labor and a sea-going vessel that operates by wave power alone, all told in wonderful Trini vernacular and with a side-splitting set of fictional emails from the randy director of the T&T archives to the author. It's pure joy.

Another fine novel from Trinidad, *Light Falling on Bamboo*, by Lawrence Scott (London: Tindal Street Press, 2012, paper £8.99), conjures up the imagined life and times of Michael Jean Cazebon, the island's best-known artist of the nineteenth century, who left few clues about his actual life other than his many Barbizon-style paintings. This capacious fiction, saturated with changing light and colors, centers on the racial and class divisions in postemancipation Port of Spain, revealing a complex, haunted man who lived for his art and the island it depicts. Strongly grounded in historical research, the book is gripping and a very good read.

Two novels of British slavery, both unusual, the first somewhat one-dimensional, the second a literary tour de force. In *The Family Mansion* (New York: Akashic Books, 2013, paper US\$15.95), veteran Jamaican novelist Anthony C. Winkler follows *God Carlos*, his first incursion into early Jamaican history, with a satirical novel set at the dawn of the nineteenth century, moving between aristocratic England and plantation Jamaica. Compared to the pre-*Carlos* novels, there is an absence of belly laughs and the payoff comes from the starkly sketched absurdities of the logic of slavery, with a young African insisting that his English master beat him so he can become "the perfect slave" and then, once freed (and therefore humiliated before his fellows), forcing his former master to teach him to be a "perfect gentleman" so that, in this new capacity, he has the rank to properly challenge the Englishman to a duel. Though devoted to much the same world, this time London and Demerara, *Johnson's Dictionary*, by David Dabydeen (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2013, paper £9.99), stands out as a major work of experimental fiction, drawing on themes from his earlier poems and novels—Hogarth, about whom Dabydeen wrote his doctoral thesis, appears here as the colony's official artist, the white-turbaned black boy of *A Harlot's Progress* is reborn, transfigured, as a main narrator, and so on. Highly original, hallucinatory in mood, nonlinear in style, obsessed with words and expressions (both high English and Coolie/African), this novel traces the progress of Hogarthian characters—the Jew, the harlot, the physician—through the world of enslaved Africans and plantation overseers. In this visionary work steeped in metaphor, the enslaved and oppressed, both men and women, are the central narrators and they have much to teach us.

Sic Transit Wagon and Other Stories (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2013, paper £8.99) is Barbara Jenkins's debut collection, juxtaposing poignant girlhood memories of pre-Independence Trinidad with vignettes of modern Trini life and foibles (from traffic jams to domestic relations)—controlled prose and keen observations.

Visions and Voices: Conversations with Fourteen Caribbean Playwrights (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree Press, 2013, paper US\$39.95), a solid and revealing set of interviews made by Olivier Stephenson in the late 1970s and early 1980s with major Anglophone dramatists, from Trevor Rhone to Derek Walcott, enriches our knowledge of the foundational years of Caribbean theater.

On to the Francophone Caribbean. In this centennial year of Aimé Césaire's birth, three important critical editions have appeared.

Aimé Césaire: Poésie, Théâtre, Essais et Discours. Édition critique, edited by Albert James Arnold (Paris: CNRS Éditions / Présence Africaine Éditions, 2013, cloth €35.00) is a monumental (1806-page) genetic edition of Césaire's complete works, presented with all their variants and analyzed in a series of careful essays by an array of specialists. It includes three hitherto unknown versions of the *Cahier* (see below) as well as other surprises, including a major reevaluation of the development of the notion of *négritude*, Césaire's relationship to Marxism, and much else. It's a fantastic bargain and a book to occupy many hours—a must for students and admirers of Césaire.

The Original 1939 Notebook of a Return to the Native Land, by Aimé Césaire, translated and edited by A. James Arnold & Clayton Eshleman (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2013, cloth, US\$24.95), presents a bilingual annotated edition, illustrated with the three marvelous Wifredo Lam line drawings from the 1943 Lydia Cabrera translation. In a penetrating introduction, the editors show how the 1956 edition—the one that has become standard—is very much a palimpsest and how Césaire significantly overwrote the 1939 original three times. It's a lovely edition.

Considerably thicker and exclusively French, *Du fond d'un pays de silence*, Édition critique de *Ferments* d'Aimé Césaire, edited by Lilyan Kesteloot, René Hénane & Mamadou Souley Ba (Paris: Orizons, 2012, paper €30.00), is a splendid critical edition of Césaire's 1950s poems, unraveling and excavating the most obscure meanings of the deep wordplay in these works so pregnant with suffering ... chains, shackles, irons, and meathooks.

Turning to contemporary Martiniquan poetry, Monchoachi's latest collection is *Lémistè (1. Liber America)* (Sens, France: Editions Obsidiane, 2012, paper €17.00) where, after publishing his 1970s collections in Créole, his 1980s ones in bilingual editions, and his subsequent ones in French, he begins a cycle that creatively mixes the two languages, as the mysteries and spirits move him—vigorous, tactile, sensual poems of the Antilles.

Martiniquan Suzanne Dracius's *Climb to the Sky* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012, paper US\$22.50), brings her 2003 short fiction collection, *Rue Monte au Ciel*, to an English-speaking audience, from a somewhat heavy-handed historical novella featuring a slave-era maroon and his courageous young woman descendant caught up in the 1902 eruption of Mt. Pelée to eight short stories that include some attractive autobiographical musings and observations of contemporary realities. Themes of violence, inequality, and racism predominate, as the patriarchal structures of colonial Martinique undergird the present for those both at home and in the metropole.

Les Saint-Aubert: L'en allée du siècle (1900–1920) (Paris: Écriture, 2012, paper €21.00) is the indefatigable Raphaël Confiant's latest novel—412 florid pages announced as the first of a trilogy tracing the adventures of a bourgeois mulatto family through Martinique's twentieth century. (This is his ninth book published during the past five years.) In this volume, if we include flashbacks, we move from the immediate postslavery decades through the fateful eruption of Mt. Pelée and the family's participation in the Great War. *La comédie humaine* through the eyes of a founding *créoliste*.

A Suriname-Dutch novel in English: The melodramatic, if-I-were-a-slave writing of Cynthia McLeod's *Tutuba, the Girl from the Slave Ship Leusden: Historical Novella* (Amsterdam: Conserve, 2013, paper €11.50) reads like a film treatment (via *Roots*) more than a developed piece of literature. The English-language version (the same publisher has brought this slim book out in Dutch as well) is marred by typos, such as *tagni* for *tangi* (thanks) and *pagni* for *pangi* (skirt, length of cloth). Yet the historical events on which it is based were indeed dramatic: the shipwreck of the Dutch slaver *Leusden* in 1738 at the mouth of the Marowijne with 664 enslaved men and women drowning in the bolted-down holds and sixteen others plus all of the crew surviving to reach Paramaribo.

And then there's a not-dissimilar but even more poorly written melodramatic novel set in Suriname by Christophe Grosdidier, *Capitaine Stedman ou le négrier sentimental* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013, paper €17.00), that lifts bits and pieces from John Gabriel Stedman's famous *Narrative* and diary and puts them into the mouth (or pen) of one of his daughters, allegedly writing about her late father in the early nineteenth century. It's heavy and, to us, *fort ennuyant*.

We've received several non-fiction works on Guyane. Clémence Léobal's *Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni: Une porte sur le fleuve* (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2013, paper €25.00) is an important study of Saint-Laurent's rise from being the center of the *bagne*, with a population in the 1960s of only 3000, to its present boom-town status, with some 45,000 people, mainly Maroons—the largest majority Maroon city in the world. By 2020, it is predicted to be the

center of the largest commune in all of Guyane. The study, based on archival work and numerous interviews, traces the physical and social evolution of the town and includes, arguably, the fullest account in French of the Suriname civil war and its consequences for Guyane.

Parikwene agniman: Une présentation de la musique parikwene (Palikur) / Uma apresentação da música Parikwene (Palikur), by Pival (Victor Michel), Berchel Labonté, Ady Norino & Jean-Michel Beaudet (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2013, paper €35.00). With an hour-long illustrative CD and numerous photo-illustrations, this introduction to the music and dance of the Parikwene / Palikur, some 2000 transnational people who live between Guyane and Brazil on the lower Oyapock River, is a little gem of a book: modest, informative, and collaborative (between the French ethnomusicologist and the Parikwene performers).

Amérindiens de Guyane: Entre les fleuves Approuague et Oyapock, des cultures millénaires, edited by Gérard Migeon et al. (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France: Musée d'Archéologie nationale / Régina, Guyane: Écomusée municipal d'Approuague-Kaw, 2010, paper n.p.), is the extensive, attractive, and instructive catalogue of an exhibition shown in both France and Guyane. Tracing the history of the peopling of eastern Guyane over many centuries, it displays archaeological pieces alongside modern ethnographic artifacts, interspersed with historical and contemporary photographs of people and the objects in use. Professional and glossy.

Un témoin en Guyane: Observations, interrogations et réflexions autour d'une société multiculturelle, by Joël Roy (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012, paper €14.00), offers a devastating sketch of some of the vast inequalities of treatment (and understanding) on the part of the French / Creole administration of the Maroon and Amerindian populations of Guyane—it rings true and is not a pretty picture.

In the broader context of memoirs of the French Guiana penal colony, Jean Bonnardot's *Confession authentique d'un bagnard* (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2013, paper €15.00), edited by Romain Telliez and based on a recently discovered manuscript allegedly written in 1946, seems expectable and relatively undramatic, perhaps bolstering its claim to authenticity as an account of one man's journeys through the various parts of the *bagne* during the first half of the twentieth century.

In *Bonnes Vacances! A Crazy Family Adventure in the French Territories* (Chichester, U.K.: Summersdale, 2011, paper £8.99), British journalist Rosie Millard drags hubby and four young kids to, among other places, Martinique and Guyane for a few days each, shoring up British readers' stereotypes with tales, often comic, of "French" peculiarities and such amazing local realities as "croissants in the jungle."

A Dutch museum catalog on Suriname. *Zeg het met doeken: Marrontextiel en de Tropenmuseumcollectie*, by Thomas Polimé & Alex van Stipriaan (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2013, paper €25.00), is a useful introduction to Maroon clothing and textile arts based principally on the rich holdings of Amsterdam's Tropenmuseum. It attempts to embrace both Eastern Maroons and Saamakas, but is heavily tilted toward the Ndyuka (from the description of "Maroon religion" to the ethnography of textiles)—perhaps inevitably, since Polimé, Ndyuka-born, provided much of the ethnography on the basis of interviews. The history of Maroon textiles is only briefly summarized; far more attention is given to current developments. The more technical aspects of textile arts (how they are made, women's various skills and aesthetic preferences) are treated only lightly; dare we guess that neither author is particularly up on the difference between basting, hemming, seaming, and edge-sewing? And should the "Kapitein van Asidonopo," who posed for one of the authors in 2010, remain nameless in the full-page image?

Rosemarijn Hoefte has, as in the recent past, provided an informative roundup of selected Caribbeanist titles in Dutch, which we are pleased to present here. She writes:

Last year's commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies produced a flow of publications; this overview is certainly not exhaustive. First, two richly illustrated books for the general public. *Slavernij: Een geschiedenis* (Zutphen, the Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2013, cloth €34.50), by Dirk J. Tang, is a search for the history of slavery and the slave trade from Antiquity to the nineteenth century. One chapter is on Suriname and another on the end of the slave trade and slavery in the Americas. Leo Balai's *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel* (Zutphen, the Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2013, cloth €29.50) zooms in on Amsterdam's involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, highlighting the role of well-known governors cum politicians. The exact economic impact of the trade remains unclear and requires additional research. Different in tone and scope is *Slavernij & vrijheid op Curaçao: De dynamiek van een achttiende-eeuws Atlantisch handelsknooppunt* (Zutphen, the Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2013, paper €39.50), Han Jordaan's dissertation on slavery, manumission, and freedom in eighteenth-century Curaçao. He adds nuance to earlier studies by H. Hoetink and Wim Klooster by pointing to the economic and social success of free non-whites, the active role of the enslaved in buying their freedom, and the legal position of free colored and black people. In *Bonaire, zout en koloniale geschiedenis* (The Hague: Amrit, 2012, paper €12.50), Boi Antoin & Cees Luckhardt sketch the history of slavery in Bonaire, where slavery was inextricably linked to salt production.

Henk den Heijer marked the occasion by republishing two books (both Walburg Pers, Zutphen, the Netherlands, 2013): *Geschiedenis van de WIC: Opkomst, bloei en ondergang* (cloth €34.50), a chronological and thematic history of the West India Company, and *Expeditie naar de Goudkust: Het journaal van Jan Dirksz Lam over de Nederlandse aanval op Elmina, 1624–1626* (paper €29.95), an eye-witness account of the attack on Elmina by the commander of the Dutch fleet. More on Elmina: Marcel van Engelen's *Het kasteel van Elmina: In het spoor van de Nederlandse slavenhandel in Afrika* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2013, paper €19.90) is a well-written, impressionistic portrayal of Elmina as the hub of trade but also of conflicting world views.

De slaaf vliegt weg: Beeldvorming over slavernij in de kunsten (Arnhem, the Netherlands: LM Publishers, 2013, paper €17.50), edited by Lucia Nankoe & Jules Rijssen, is a collection of lectures from an international conference held in Amsterdam in 2009 on the relation between historical novels and the representation of slavery. Kees Uittenhout's *Gouden handel; Roman over slavernij* (Schoorl, the Netherlands: Conserve, 2012, paper €19.99) is an example of such a novel; unfortunately the numerous details take the flow out of the story.

Two history books that are not directly related to the commemoration of abolition: *Geweld in de West: Een militaire geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Atlantische wereld, 1600–1800*, edited by Victor Enthoven, Henk den Heijer & Han Jordaan (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2013, cloth €109), presents ten articles on military and maritime organizations, actions, and culture in the Dutch Atlantic world. In *Afscheid van de koloniën: Het Nederlandse dekolonisatiebeleid 1942–2012* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2013, cloth €44.95), a 600-page study of Dutch decolonization policies in the “East” and the “West,” John Jansen van Galen concludes that The Hague's pragmatic course, with decisions based on financial considerations rather than political principles, was not as flawed as generally assumed.

Two titles on Curaçao: Eva Abraham's *Van je familie moet je het hebben: Curaçaose verwantschappen* (Zutphen, the Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2013, paper €29.95) compares family relationships in the 1960s and the 2000s, exploring the impact of industrialization, spending and saving, gender relations, and parenting. Following *Paramaribo Brasa!* (2010), Ko van Geemert has now taken on Curaçao. In *Dushi Willemstad* (Amsterdam: Bas Lubberhuizen, 2013, paper €22.50) writers such as Frank Martinus Arion, Tipp Marugg, and Cola Debrot guide readers through the history and the streets of the island's capital.

Suriname is the focus of nine books. *Woordenboek van het Nederlands in Suriname van 1667 tot 1876*, by the late J. van Donselaar (Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut, 2013, paper €25), is an important study of the prehistory of Surinamese Dutch. The dictionary, a sequel and supplement to earlier publications

by Van Donselaar, includes 2,100 entrees. *André Loor vertelt ... Suriname 1850–1950* (Paramaribo: Vaco, 2013, cloth € 39.75) is a well-produced, delightful history of Suriname told by the country's most popular and respected historian, who passed away in December 2013. Fineke van der Veen, Dick ter Steege & Chandra van Binnendijk's *Nickerie: Verhalen van mensen en gebouwen* (Arnhem, the Netherlands: LM Publishers, 2013, cloth with CD, € 27.00), a popular history of (mostly Hindustani) people, buildings, and land use in Suriname's most western district, includes more than 250 photographs as well as detailed architectural plans; the CD shows more than 500 photos of residential and commercial buildings.

Plantage Mariënborg: Van koffiebess tot rum (Arnhem, the Netherlands: LM Publishers, 2013, cloth € 17.50) is a charming history of Suriname's largest plantation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; Anne Blondé authored the text, which is interspersed with the memories and drawings of Toekijan Soekardi, a former employee who was born on the plantation in 1934. In *Lachen, huilen, bevrijden: De weerspiegeling van de Surinaamse samenleving in het werk van het Doe-theater 1970–1983* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2012, paper with CD € 25.94), Annika Ockhorst with the assistance of Thea Doelwijt, one of the founders of the Doe-theater, tells the history of this socially engaged theater in the critical years of independence and military take-over; it includes a CD with the documentary *Libi Span* by Jan Venema. Rudie Kagie's *Bikkel: Het verhaal van de eerste politieke moord van het Bouterse-regime* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013, paper € 19.95) reconstructs the life and violent death of adjutant Fred Ormskirk, who didn't survive questioning by the Surinamese military in 1980.

Gowtu: Klopjacht op het Surinaamse goud (Schoorl, the Netherlands: Conserve, 2013, paper € 19.99) is a timely and important study of the gold industry in Suriname by Dutch journalist Jeroen Trommelen, who explores the exploitation by *porknokkers* and *garimpeiros*, the flow of money, ecological disasters, crime and corruption, and the byzantine political and bureaucratic system. Despite the fact that Trommelen has not yet managed to uncover all relevant political and financial networks, this book is a must read for anyone interested in contemporary Suriname.

Finally, two novels based on Suriname's recent history. Karin Amatmoekrim's *De man van veel* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2013, paper € 19.95) is an ambitious but ultimately unsatisfactory attempt to fictionalize the involuntary hospitalization in a psychiatric clinic of Surinamese social and political activist Anton de Kom in 1939. *Jelaja: Een Surinaamse roman*, by Diederik Samwel (Amsterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 2013 paper € 18.95), tries to capture postindependence society, including the military coup of 1980 and the various human

rights violations by the Bouterse regime, through the histories of a Creole Jack-of-all-trades and a well-off Hindustani businessman. A pleasant read.

Miscellaneous non-fiction from around the Caribbean:

The Caribbean in Sepia: A History in Photographs, 1840–1900, by Michael Ayre (Kingston: Ian Randle / Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2012, paper US\$ 45.00), is a marvelous collection of some 500 images from 42 archives, museums, and libraries, of which only 7 percent have been previously published. Geographically, it covers most of the British, French, and Dutch Caribbean (omitting the Hispanic colonies) and contains a useful history of the region's early photography as well as capsule bios of the pioneer photographers. Many of the images are memorable and demand careful examination. Together, they create an enduring picture of the range of architecture, clothing, industries, and daily life in the postemancipation Caribbean. You can't help but learn from it.

Four on art. *Islas del Caribe: Naturaleza-arte-sociedad* (Havana: Editorial Universidad de La Habana, 2012, paper n.p.) by Cuban art historian Yolanda Wood with a foreword by Nancy Morejón, is a tour-de-force, exploring Caribbean art history in its multiple contexts, from natural environments and social settings through colonialism and postmodernity, insularity and interisland influences, cultural identities and hybridity, and much more. It draws insights from the entire region, weaving a tapestry centered on art history that would be of real interest to Caribbeanists from any other discipline as well. For an English-language sample of Wood's pan-Caribbean approach, see her essay "Visual Caribbean: Images and Imaginaries" (in *Caribbean: Art at the Crossroads of the World*, Yale University Press, 2012). In *Grupo Antillano: The Art of Afro-Cuba / El Arte de Afro-Cuba* (Santiago de Cuba: Caguayo Foundation, 2013; distributed by the University of Pittsburgh Press, paper US\$ 49.95), Alejandro de la Fuente restores (in side-by-side Spanish and English texts) an intellectually, culturally, and artistically vibrant art movement to its proper place in the art historical record of Cuba. Weighing in at over two kilos and almost 350 oversized pages, the first section consists of essays recounting the history (and evoking the memories) of this black consciousness collective, which was active between 1978 and 1983. A second section offers year-by-year documentation of the group's exhibitions, followed by over 200 pages of beautifully illustrated word-and-image portraits of the group's members, and a "tribute exhibition" by Cuban artists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In *Masterpieces of Haitian Art: Seven Decades of Unique Visual Heritage* (Atglen PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2013, cloth US\$ 50.00), Candice Russell, passionate collector and exhibition curator of Haitian art, has assembled introductory texts and full-color illustrations of many hundreds of artists—paintings, vodou flags, sculp-

tures in metal, wood, and papier-maché, and mixed-media constructions. Once you get past the rather bilious dust jacket, it's a comprehensive introduction for exploring the spectacular riches of twentieth-century Haitian art. And finally, *Aimé Césaire Lam Picasso: "Nous sommes trouvés"* (Le François, Martinique: HC Éditions, 2013, paper, n.p.), a multi-authored work under the direction of Daniel Maximin, is a richly annotated and illustrated catalogue for a 2013–14 exhibition at Martinique's Fondation Clément. It draws, in both content and graphics, on two 2011 books by the same publisher—*Césaire et Lam* and *Césaire et Picasso* (see *NWIG* 87:113)—to provide an informative, beautifully illustrated reading of the inspiration generated by these close poet-artist relationships.

El despertar de las comunidades afrocolombianas, edited by Maria Inés Martínez (Houston TX: Editorial LACASA / San Juan: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, UPR, 2012, paper US\$ 24.95) with a substantive Caribbeanist introduction by Ángel G. Quintero Rivera, presents spoken life histories by five Afro-Colombian leaders from communities that include el Palenque de San Basilio.

Three multi-authored volumes from the University of the West Indies Press in 2013: *Reassembling the Fragments: Voice and Identity in Caribbean Discourse*, edited by Paula Morgan & Valerie Youssef (paper US\$ 25.00), originated at a conference to honor recently retired professors Bridget Brereton, Barbara Lalla, and Ian Robertson. Contributors include María Landa Buil, Niala Dwarika-Bhagat, Karen Eccles, Michelle Gill, Barbara Lalla, Nivedita Misra, Paula Morgan, Velma Pollard, Jennifer Rahim, Ian Robertson, Lise Winer, Donald Winford, Marsha Winter, and Valerie Youssef. *Trajectories of Freedom: Caribbean Societies, 1807–2007*, edited by Alan Cobley & Victor C. Simpson (paper US\$ 30.00) originated at an eponymous conference and includes contributions by Agnel Barron, April Bernard, Bridget Brereton, Alan Cobley, Sandra Gift & Oba Kenyatta Omowale Kiteme, Ena Harris, Hilde Neus van der Putten, Edith Pérez Sisto, Agostinho M.N. Pinnock, Kelvin Quintyne, Kirwin R. Shaffer, Hazel Simmons-McDonald, Victor C. Simpson, and Jerome Teelucksingh. And *Methods in Caribbean Research: Literature, Discourse, Culture*, edited by Barbara Lalla, Nicole Roberts, Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw & Valerie Youssef (paper US\$ 35.00) includes chapters by Jean Antoine-Dunne, Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick, Merle Hodge, Barbara Lalla, Paula Morgan, Jennifer Rahim, Nicole Roberts, Louis Regis, Jairo Sánchez-Galvis, Geraldine Skeete, Glenroy Taitt, Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw, and Valerie Youssef.

An important volume on Cuba that we only now discovered, too late for a regular review: *Outras ilhas: espaços, temporalidades e transformações em Cuba*, edited by Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha (Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano, 2010, paper R\$36.00). With contributions by Ada Ferrer, Rebecca Scott, Stephan Palmié,

Dale Tomich, and a number of other heavyweights (including several Cuban scholars), writing on subjects ranging from eighteenth-century slavery and the nineteenth-century industrial revolution in sugar to twentieth-century music and the uses of money during the Special Period, this is a major synthesis of recent studies on Cuba.

Turning to the northern fringe of the Caribbean, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff and their Quest for Freedom in the Atlantic World*, by Nathaniel Millett (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013, cloth US\$ 74.95), examines a community of maroons at the beginning of the nineteenth century on Florida's west coast, where hundreds of slaves from the United States established themselves in the Spanish territory, playing off the Americans, Spanish, and British against one another and maintaining a fully Atlanticist view.

And now for the Caribbeanist Believe-it-or-Not publishing story of the year. In 2013, the venerable Parisian publishing house L'Harmattan brought out two books by different authors **on the same subject, in the same month, with the same title and subtitle**. Both books are called *Frantz Fanon: Un héritage à partager*—one by Adam Longuet (paper €19.95); the other edited by the Cercle Frantz Fanon in Martinique (paper €34.50). Neither author was aware of the other (we checked). But mightn't the publisher have noticed???

Finally, there are several reprints, translations, and new editions to report:

L'Harmattan has announced a new series called *Corpus Antillais: Collection de sources sur les Indiens caraïbes*, with at least twelve volumes scheduled for publication in 2012–13. These include classics by Charles de Rochefort, Raymond Breton, Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, and many others. For details, consult L'Harmattan online.

Émergences Caraïbes: Une géographie politique, by Monique Bégot, Pascal Buléon & Patrick Roth (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013, cloth €21.00), is a revised edition of a 2001 book that received critical commentary in *NWIG* 77:118: "contains much useful information but never quite frees itself from its francophone gaze." The English translation, *Emerging Caribbean: A Political Geography* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2009, cloth US\$25.00), and the Spanish one, *Caribe Emergente: Una geografía política* (Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013, cloth US\$20.00), retain that same gaze—the bibliography (omitted in the English edition but included in the Spanish) lists 58 works in French, 5 in English, and none in Spanish or Dutch.

Spanish Trinidad, by Francisco Morales Padrón (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, paper US\$26.95), is the first English-language edition of the 2011 Spanish original, edited and translated by Armando García de la Torre.

Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement, by Gelien Matthews (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012, paper US\$24.95), is the reprint of a book reviewed in the *NWIG* in 2008.

Frantz Fanon's 'Black Skin, White Masks': New Interdisciplinary Essays, edited by Max Silverman (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2012, paper £14.99), appears to be a reprint of a 2006 book.

Beyond a Boundary, by C.L.R. James (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2013, paper US\$ 24.95), is the fiftieth anniversary edition of this classic, with an introduction by Robert Lipsyte and a foreword by Paget Henry.

In November 2013 Vents d'ailleurs brought out two new editions of Richard Price's *First-Time* (1983). *Les premiers temps* (paper €22.00) is an enlarged edition of the book published in 1994 by Éditions du Seuil, and includes new historical materials gathered from Saamaka historians in the interim. *Fesiten* (translated by Richard & Sally Price with advice from Saamaka linguist Vinije Haabo, paper €18.00) is the first book ever published in Saamakatongo (except for missionary publications) and presents a new orthography. Adapted for Saamakas (e.g., it omits explanations of elements of Saamaka life that they already know and adds information on archival research), it was written at the request of the Association of Saamaka Authorities (Vereniging van Saramakaanse Gezagsdragers)—the official representatives of the Saamaka People—who have purchased 3000 copies to distribute in schools and elsewhere in Saamaka territory.

We end by listing a number of titles, arranged roughly by geography and themes, that we have noticed but neither examined nor requested for review, in some cases because their Caribbean content is restricted to a chapter or two, in others because they didn't seem sufficiently compelling given *NWIG* space limitations, or for a variety of diverse reasons. Together, they testify to the large numbers of books being published that at least touch on the Caribbean. We simply mention them here for our readers' information:

Edwin Kaiser's Covert Life: And his Little Black Book Linking Cuba, Watergate & the JFK Assassination, by Scott Kaiser (Springfield OR: Trine Day, 2013, paper US\$ 24.95).

Etnografía, política y poder a finales del siglo XIX: José Martí y la cuestión indígena, by Jorge Camacho (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 2013, n.p.).

Cuba (Latin America in Focus), edited by Ted A. Henken, Miriam Celaya & Dimas Castellanos (Santa Barbara CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013, cloth US\$ 89.00).

Cuba for the Misinformed: Facts from the Forbidden Island, by Mick Winter (Napa CA: Westsong Publishing, 2013, paper US\$ 17.95).

Cuban Revelations: Behind the Scenes in Havana, by Marc Frank (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013, cloth US\$ 29.95).

Che on my Mind, by Margaret Randall (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2013, paper US\$ 19.95).

- The Cuban Revolution*, edited by Myra Immell (Detroit MI: Greenhaven Press, 2013, paper US\$ 42.45).
- Oswald, Mexico, and Deep Politics: Revelations from CIA Records on the Assassination of JFK*, by Peter Dale Scott (New York: Skyhorse, 2013, paper US\$ 14.95).
- Ernest Hemingway in Context*, edited by Debra Modellmog & Suzanne del Gizzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 99.00).
- Third Man in Havana: Finding the Heart of Cricket in the World's Most Unlikely Places*, by Tom Rodwell (Thriplow, U.K.: Corinthian, 2012, Kindle US\$ 9.32).
- Cuba and its Neighbours: Democracy in Motion*, by Arnold August (Halifax CA: Fernwood, 2013, paper CAD 29.95).
- Cuba under Siege: American Policy, the Revolution and its People*, by Keith Bolender (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, paper £ 17.50).
- One Day in December: Celia Sánchez and the Cuban Revolution*, by Nancy Stout (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013, cloth US\$ 29.95).
- The Great Game in Cuba: How the CIA Sabotaged its Own Plot to Unseat Fidel Castro*, by Joan Mellen (New York: Skyhorse, 2013, cloth US\$ 24.95).
- Havana: Imitations of Departure*, by John Comino-James. (Stockport, U.K.: Dewi Lewis, 2013, cloth US\$ 48.00). [a photo book]
- The Economy of Cuba after the VI Party Congress: Between State Socialism and Market Socialism*, edited by Alberto Gabriele (Hauppauge NY: Nova Science, 2012, cloth US\$ 85.00).
- Women and Revolution: The Living Example of the Cuban Revolution*, by Ansel de los Santos et al. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 2013, paper US\$ 7.00). [64 pages]
- La escritura de mujeres en Puerto Rico a finales del siglo XX y principios del siglo XXI: Essays on Contemporary Puerto Rican Writers*, edited by Amarilis Hidalgo de Jesús (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 149.95).
- Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492–1898*, edited by Richard Aste (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2013, cloth US\$ 50.00).
- To Repair the World: Paul Farmer Speaks to the Next Generation*, edited by Jonathan Weigel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013, cloth US\$ 26.95).
- Healing in the Homeland: Haitian Vodou Tradition*, by Margaret Mitchell Armand (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2013, cloth US\$ 70.00, Kindle US\$ 39.99).
- Histoire religieuse des Antilles et de la Guyane françaises*, by Philippe Delisle (Paris: Karthala, 2013, paper € 28.00).
- Missionnaires capucins et carmes aux Antilles*, by Pacifique de Provins & Maurile de Saint-Michel; édition critique de Bernard Grunberg, Benoît Roux & Josiane Grunberg (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013, paper € 38.50).
- Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*, by Adria K. Lawrence (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, paper US\$ 29.99). [with very little on the Caribbean]

- Félix Éboué: De Cayenne au Caire, 1884–1944*, by Rodolphe Alexandre & Philippe Guyot (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2012, paper €10.00).
- Gaston Monnerville (1897–1991): Un destin d'exception*, by Jean-Paul Brunet (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, paper €23.00).
- Polices d'empire: XVIIIe–XIXe siècles*, edited by Vincent Denis & Catherine Denys (Rennes, France: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012, paper €16.00).
- Nouvelle histoire de la Guyane*, by Serge Mam Lam Fouck (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2013, paper €30.00).
- Marronnage et diversité culturelle: Actes du colloque de la 7^e Biennale du Marronnage 2010*, edited by Bruno Poucet (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2012, paper €30.00).
- Fanon: Imperative of the Now*, edited by Grant Farred (special issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Winter 2013), Duke University Press, paper US\$14.00. [a collection of essays marking the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Wretched of the Earth*, covering psychoanalysis, postcolonialism, and other Fanonian themes]
- Les grandes familles politiques de Guadeloupe: Un héritage transgénérationnel*, by Jean-Claude Lefort (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012, paper €20.00).
- L'administration du territoire en Guadeloupe depuis le XVIIIe siècle: Études réunies en hommage au doyen Christian Thérésine*, edited by Didier Destouches (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012, paper €24.50).
- La décolonisation improbable*, by Jean-Pierre Sainton (Pointe-à-Pitre: Jasor, 2012, paper €35.00).
- Atlas linguistique des petites Antilles vol. II*, by Jean Le Dû & Guylaine Brun-Trigaud (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, paper €45.00).
- Paris, Capital of the Black Atlantic: Literature, Modernity, and Diaspora*, edited by Jeremy Braddock & Jonathan P. Eburne (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, paper US\$35.00). [with a little on Césaire and *négritude*]
- Afromodernisms: Paris, Harlem and the Avant-Garde*, by Fionnghuala Sweeney & Kate Marsh (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013, cloth US\$105.00).
- After Translation: The Transfer and Circulation of Modern Poetics across the Atlantic*, by Ignacio Infante (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013, cloth US\$45.00). [aside from one chapter on Brathwaite's poetics, it is largely non-Caribbean]
- Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms*, edited by Elaine O'Brien, Evelyn Nicodemos, Melissa Chiu, Benjamin Genocchio, Mary K. Coffey & Roberto Tejada (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, cloth US\$99.95). [little on the Caribbean]
- Orientalism and Identity in Latin America: Fashioning Self and Other from the (Post)colonial Margin*, edited by Erik Camayd-Freixas (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013, cloth US\$55.00).
- Teaching Caribbean Poetry*, edited by Beverley Bryan & Morag Styles (New York: Routledge, 2013, paper US\$39.95).

- Shaping the New World: African Slavery in the Americas, 1500–1888*, by Eric Nellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, paper US\$24.95).
- Transitions in Caribbean Law: Law-Making, Constitutionalism and the Convergence of National and International Law*, edited by David S. Berry & Tracy Robinson (Kingston: Caribbean Law Publishing, 2013, paper US\$34.95).
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- Pathways from Preferential Trade: The Politics of Trade Adjustment in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific*, by Tony Heron (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, cloth US\$105.00).
- Applications of International Trade Theory: The Caribbean Perspective*, by Roger Hosein (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$35.00).
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- Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora, 1919–1939*, by Hakim Adi (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2013, paper US\$39.95).
- Slavery, Race and Conquest in the Tropics: Lincoln, Douglas, and the Future of Latin America*, by Robert E. May (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, paper US\$26.99).
- European Colonialism since 1700*, by James R. Lehning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, paper US\$27.99).
- Economic Transformation and Job Creation: The Caribbean Experience*, edited and self-published by Kenneth O. Hall & Myrtle Chuck-A-Sang (Bloomington IN: Trafford, 2013, paper US\$18.30).
- Sustainable Food Production Practices in the Caribbean*, edited by Wayne G. Ganpat & Wendy-Ann P. Isaac (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, paper US\$45.00).
- Domestic Food Production and Food Security in the Caribbean: Building Capacity and Strengthening Local Food Production Systems*, by Clinton L. Beckford & Donovan R. Campbell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, cloth US\$90.00).
- The Political Economy of Empire in the Early Modern World*, edited by Sophus Reinert & Pernille Røge (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, cloth US\$85.00).
- School Leadership in the Caribbean: Perceptions, Practices, Paradigms*, edited by Paul Miller (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2013, paper US\$48.00).
- Language, Literacy, and Pedagogy in Postindustrial Societies: The Case of Black Academic Underachievement*, by Paul C. Mocombe & Carol Tomlin (London: Routledge, 2013, cloth US\$133.00).

- Resilience of Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean: Development and Autonomy*, edited by Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano & José Briceño-Ruiz (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, cloth US\$90.00; Kindle US\$72.00). [only one chapter about the Caribbean]
- Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance*, by Nicholas Popper (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012, cloth US\$55.00).
- Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*, by John Darwin (London: Allen Lane, 2012, cloth US\$35.00).
- Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity*, by Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, paper US\$35.00). [only two of the nineteen essays, both previously published, deal directly with the West Indies; many of the other chapters, almost all previously published as well, do so only indirectly]
- Poetic Community: Avant-Garde Activism and Cold War Culture*, by Stephen Voyce (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, cloth US\$65.00). [includes a chapter on the Caribbean Artists Movement]
- The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*, by Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2013, cloth US\$37.50). [little on the Caribbean]
- The Letters and Other Writings of Gustavus Vassa (Olaudah Equiano, the African) Documenting Abolition of the Slave Trade*, edited by Karlee Anne Sapoznik (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2013, cloth US\$89.95).
- Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World*, by Edward E. Andrews (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, cloth US\$39.95).
- Facing the Challenge of Emancipation: A Study of the Ministry of William Hart Coleridge, First Bishop of Barbados, 1824–1842*, by Sehon S. Goodridge, edited by Anthony De Vere Phillips (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$20.00).
- Hating Empire Properly: The Two Indies and the Limits of Enlightenment Anticolonialism*, by Sunil M. Agnani (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013, cloth US\$45.00). [mostly about India]
- From Plantations to University Campus: The Social History of Cave Hill, Barbados*, by Woodville Marshall (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$20.00).
- The Guild of Students at the University of the West Indies, St Augustine, 1962–2012*, by Shane J. Pantin & Dextral G.L. Peters (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$20.00).
- Caribbean Tourism*, by Jean S. Holder (University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$40.00). [the author is the chairman of LIAT airlines]
- Public Health in Jamaica, 1850–1940: Neglect, Philanthropy and Development*, by Margaret Jones (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$30.00).

- HIV and AIDS Knowledge and Stigma in Guyana*, by Prem Misir (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$30.00).
- Environmental Management in the Caribbean: Policy and Practice*, edited by Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$35.00).
- Rewriting the African Diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean: Beyond Disciplinary and National Boundaries*, edited by Robert L. Adams Jr. (London: Routledge, 2013, cloth US\$145.00). [originally published as a special issue of *African and Black Diaspora*]
- Publishing Blackness: Textual Constructions of Race since 1850*, by George Hutchinson & John K. Young (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013, cloth US\$70.00). [includes one chapter on the Caribbean: "More than McKay and Guillén: The Caribbean in Hughes and Bontemps's *The Poetry of the Negro* (1949)" by Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo]
- Meanderings on the Making of a Diasporic Hybrid Identity*, by Dulce María Gray (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2013, cloth US\$55.00).
- Neither World Polity nor Local or National Societies: Regionalization in the Global South: The Caribbean Community*, by Tavis Deryck Jules (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2012, cloth €48.60).
- Patronage, Personalities and Parties: The Caymanian Politics from 1950–2000*, by J.A. Roy Bodden (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2010, paper US\$36.00).
- Caribbean Political Activism: Essays in Honour of Richard Hart*, edited by Rupert Lewis (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, paper US\$24.95).
- Power, Politics and Performance: A Partnership Approach for Development*, by Winston Dookeran, with contributions from Manfred D. Jantzen & Avinash Persaud (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, paper US\$34.95).
- Burning for Freedom: A Theology of the Black Atlantic Struggle for Liberation*, by Delroy A. Reid-Salmon (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, paper US\$18.95).
- Reggae Soundsystem: Original Reggae Album Cover Art: A Visual History of Jamaican Music from Mento to Dancehall*, by Steve Barrow with assistance from Stuart Baker (London: Soul Jazz Books, 2012, cloth US\$49.95).
- The Making of a University: From CAST to UTech*, by Alfred Sangster (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2012, cloth US\$50.00). [a history of the University of Technology in Jamaica, written by a former president]
- The Underachieving Society: Development Strategy and Policy in Trinidad and Tobago, 1958–2008*, by Terrence W. Farrell (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2013, paper US\$30.00).
- Pictures from Paradise: A Survey of Contemporary Caribbean Photography*, edited by Melanie Archer & Mariel Brown (Laventille, Trinidad and Tobago: Robert & Christopher Publishers, 2013, paper US\$39.95).
- The Sexual History of the Global South: Sexual Politics and Postcolonialism in Africa, Asia*

and Latin America, edited by Saskia Wieringa & Horacio Sâivori (London: Zed Books, 2013, paper US\$ 35.95). [one Caribbean chapter, on Cuba]

The Flower of Empire: An Amazonian Water Lily, the Quest to Make it Bloom, and the World it Created, by Tatiana Holway (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, cloth US\$ 29.95, Kindle US\$ 12.75). [tells the story of Robert Schomburgk's 1837 "discovery" in British Guiana of the water lily that, brought to the mother country, was named *Victoria regia*, after the young queen, the various attempts to make it bloom, and its role as model for the Crystal Palace]

The Freshwater Fishes of Suriname, by Jan H.A. Mol (Leiden: Brill, 2012, paper US\$ 82.00). [889 pages!]

Book Reviews



Mimi Sheller

Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xvii + 346 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.95)

Citizenship From Below makes an extremely forceful and timely argument about how we must understand the relationships between various incarnations of the state (imperial, colonial, postcolonial, nationalist) and the development of alternative (subaltern) claims to citizenship, principally within post-Revolutionary Haiti and postemancipation Jamaica. By repositioning and retheorizing data originally gathered for her PhD research while also mining new sources, such as the photographs of Jamaica from the period of the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865 which are now housed at Princeton University, Mimi Sheller develops a theory of “citizenship from below” that foregrounds practices and performances of gender and sexuality. The book is thus part of a more general move to critique the liberal narrative of political citizenship and state formation, showing the various ways in which these processes have been ideologically grounded within (and therefore reproduce) particular notions of personhood and value that are gendered, racialized, and sexualized.

Like many other contemporary scholars, Sheller seeks to show that categories of subjecthood are constantly made and revised relationally within specific contexts, while at the same time demonstrating change over time. In particular, she wants to outline the “intimate bodily encounters” within workplaces, streets, churches, and other public and semipublic spaces that provide windows into the subaltern formation of gendered, racialized, ethnicized, and sexual subjectivities. In other words, she’s looking to develop a theory of “embodied freedom,” one that sits somewhere in the middle of the continuum between violent rebellion and hidden resistance, implicitly arguing that this is where we might find attempts to define alternative modes of belonging and to carve out institutional spaces in which notions of belonging can be generated.

Sheller is also interested in methodological questions and, as in her previous work, challenges us to think about the politics of knowledge production in and about the region. She asks: "What do we know about the Caribbean past(s), and how do we know it? Who can make claims to knowledge, with what license and legitimation? How does a researcher's location inside or outside the Caribbean, and within or outside particular fields of power, matter in writing history?" (p. 3). And, more explicitly to the thorny question of identifying and representing what we might term subaltern archives, how do historians and other scholars "find these sources beneath the surface and tap into non-representational dimensions of the past, the embodied, spatial, and affective aspects that escape archival record?" (p. 5). These are questions, of course, that have provoked many Caribbeanists to both read between the lines of colonial archives and excavate other repositories of community memory and history, but here Sheller is especially interested in those bodies of knowledge (pun intended) that can tell us something about the relationships between sexuality, politics, and citizenship in the postemancipation period.

The scope of the book is impressively ambitious, and throughout Sheller makes three overarching arguments. One is that contrary to the opinions of contemporary post-World War II scholars and lay observers, there was a focus, among both women and men, on family integrity and autonomy among post-emancipation Caribbean communities, and that this focus served as the basis for many forms of public protest within a variety of venues. The second is that despite efforts to codify and classify the natural world according to a colonial logic, Caribbean populations did and do make different sense of landscape and space in ways that reveal alternative notions of belonging, use, and citizenship. And the third is that to make claims as politically agential subjects, Caribbean people have had to, in her words, "first position themselves as raced, gendered, national, and sexual subjects of particular kinds (i.e. as free men, or heads of patriarchal families, or good mothers, or British subjects, or loyal soldiers)" (p. 21)—in other words, they have had to locate themselves as citizens in ways that drew lines between themselves and others, in many cases reproducing colonial (and, in the case of Haiti, revolutionary) hierarchies. Of course, these arguments are not merely about Caribbean pasts but are also critical to our presents. That is, Sheller wants to parse some of the struggles that shaped postslavery visions of citizenship in order to situate the iterations of interpersonal and intercommunal violence that form such a noisy part of our landscapes today. Her audience, therefore, is quite broad and includes not only Caribbeanist historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and literary scholars, but also those interested more generally in Africana Studies, postslavery societies, postcolonialism, race theory, gender and sexuality studies, and the new studies

of citizenship, subject formation, and democracy. As a result, *Citizenship from Below* could be used in area studies courses as well as advanced undergraduate and graduate thematic courses addressing histories of empire, nationalism, colonialism, and race.

I want to end by saying something briefly about the theory of sexual citizenship Sheller develops. Her overarching point throughout the text is that “racial, ethnic, gendered, and sexual claims to citizenship in the postslavery Caribbean emerge as attempts to institute specifically embodied masculinities and femininities that are always in tension with state efforts to control and discipline sexuality, fertility, and labor relations” (pp. 26–27). By mobilizing a variety of kinds of archives, and through some unconventional readings (especially of what the photographs of the Morant Bay rebellion might tell us about issues related to color and political protest during that period), she builds on the work of a number of scholars of sexuality, including both established scholars whose work has charted new fields of inquiry and emergent scholars like Lyndon Gill (2010), who is attempting to think through the relationships among the political, the sexual, and the spiritual, a trifecta he calls “erotic agency.” She uses this work in order to make the argument that “sexuality does not simply emanate from within an already formed subject. Rather,” she continues, “it is interactively elicited through encounters between bodies and sexual geographies, which include spaces of belonging and safety, ethnosexual borders and frontiers, and modes of normalizing, policing, and surveilling sexualized bodies and places” (p. 242). For Sheller, the exercise of sexual agency, while it may not necessarily transform the institutions through which inequalities have historically been structured, “may enable some forms of maneuver, negotiation, and exchange” (p. 260). It is by training this lens on nineteenth-century Jamaica and Haiti that Sheller most profoundly complexifies traditional political histories of slavery, freedom, and citizenship. I believe this theoretical reframing is the most critical contribution of *Citizenship from Below*.

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Colin Dayan

The Law is a White Dog: How Legal Rituals Make and Unmake Persons. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011. xvii + 323 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

What if you bought a haunted house without knowing that you had done so because the seller failed to disclose that information, even though she, as well as the neighbors, were quite aware that ghosts inhabited the house? Would you be entitled to the return of your down payment? Apparently so—and this in 1989. And so begins a fascinating account of the constitutive power of law. As Colin Dayan argues, “In legal rationales, realities are created” (p. 246). In his ruling, Judge Israel Rubin, writing for the appellate division of the New York Supreme Court, made factual the existence of ghosts.

The Law is a White Dog is about many subjects. Dayan asks what it means to be a person, how persons are made and unmade in law, and why the question of who may be a person is tied inextricably to ideas about property and ownership. The book is about spirits, slaves, prisoners, terrorists, and animals. In treating these subjects, it draws eclectically and impressively from law, philosophy, mythology, literature, scripture, and historical treatises to chronicle many histories: of slavery, of punishment, of the war on terror, and of animal rights—all legal histories of “dispossession” (p. xii).

Much of the book is devoted to New World slavery. Dayan begins in the West Indies, bringing in sources well known to Caribbeanists, but her work is unusual in documenting the transitions that occurred in the definitions of “slave” and in contrasting these to laws in the mainland colonies. Lawmakers wrestled with the question of how a human could be both chattel and a criminal. Rationalizations for the laws rested upon acute racism. (Scholars familiar with the work of Edward Long, a plantation owner and chronicler of Jamaican history, will recall his argument that Africans constituted a different species of humanity.) Lawmakers changed the definitions of “slave” over time by reinterpreting earlier statutes, euphemisms, and legal fictions—all tools of the trade today.

Dayan demonstrates how earlier patterns and processes persist by tracing the history of the contemporary law of persons in the United States. She considers prisoners’ identities as persons and the punishments they endure by drawing on interviews with prison officials, inmates, and archival research in two maximum security prisons in Arizona during 1995–99, as well as statutes and court decisions. An earlier wave of concern for the inhumane treatment of inmates gave way in the 1980s to concern instead for the safety and security of prison administrators and security guards. A pattern has emerged in which judges defer to what prison “experts” have to say: “their concerns, thoughts, inclinations, fears, lapses, and strain,” rather than “the effects of their actions

on the incarcerated" (p. 194). After 2000, questions about the civil rights of inmates appeared regularly before U.S. courts. Should prisoners be allowed to read newspapers? To receive letters and photographs of loved ones? To practice religious rites? We might find such questions astonishing, except that Dayan has shown us decisively the power of law to "summon up archaic debris" (p. 234).

In her discussion of "cruel and unusual" punishment, Dayan forces us to reconsider the notion of the barbaric. What are we to make of the re-appearance of chain gangs in which men break rocks to no purpose—a practice common in concentration camps? If useless work is one path punishment is taking, there is another perhaps more insidious and pervasive one: the housing of inmates in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day. The implementation of solitary confinement at Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia in the nineteenth century taught us its effects: "the *mind's unraveling*" (p. 70). Yet this practice has been revived in the United States. Prisons have been sanitized and made "uncrowded" for individual prisoners at the expense of their psyches.

"Cruel and unusual" punishment has also acquired new meaning in the "war on terror." Dayan is scathing in her indictment of the Bush administration's legal rationalizations and use of euphemisms that have enabled the long-term confinement of "terrorists" who have not been charged or tried, but who have endured solitary confinement, forced feedings, and "enhanced interrogation techniques" at Guantanamo and elsewhere. In this reading, "torture" is defined in terms of the "*intent to torture*" (p. 198).

And what of dogs? Like slaves, their value has depended on their owners' rights in property. Like prisoners, law has depicted them as nuisances and as dangerous. Studying the courts' rulings about dogs "helps us to understand how old forms of brutality were transfigured" and how "law can be used to make men dogs and dogs trash" (pp. 239, 241).

Curiously, there is no discussion in the book of the ways in which gender plays into and out of the legal history of slavery or punishment. Nor does Dayan discuss the legal status of indentured servants, who certainly occupied an important and liminal role in early colonial history and law. At times, too, there is a gap between her attention to slave law and what was happening "on the ground." If slaves were to be held publically accountable, they had to be brought to the law's attention. That did not always happen. And even when it did, courts sometimes ruled on the slaves' behalf or chose to dismiss the cases against them (Elsa Goveia in Lazarus-Black 1994; Schwarz 1988). Moreover, too little attention has been paid to the role of law and courts in the politics of slave resistance. Once slaves gained access to colonial law they argued publicly about rights and claimed an agentive role in courts (Lazarus-Black 1994).

These points notwithstanding, Dayan's work is engrossing, imaginative, and erudite. It will appeal to wide audiences, including historians, anthropologists, and sociologists of slavery, scholars interested in the history of punishment, and academics and activists concerned with both human and animal rights.

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Martin Brückner (ed.)

Early American Cartographies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
xiii + 485 pp. (Cloth US\$ 60.00)

The essays in this rich collection are organized around three themes: imperial politics, local knowledge, and maps as icons and metaphors. In the first part Ricardo Padrón compares two maps of the Spanish Empire in the 1760s by Vicente de Memije, a creole in Manila—one a technically conventional map of the world from Italy to the Straits of Malacca, the other a remarkable allegorical map of Spain's domains. He shows how they were parts of “a last-ditch effort to modernize a thoroughly bankrupt cartographic ideology during a century in which the crown sought to chart Spain's empire with improved accuracy while also bearing witness to Spain's newly circumscribed imperial aspirations” (p. 38). Ken MacMillan uses English maps of America, 1590–1685, to refute what he takes to be the prevailing view that English colonies were “commercial but not imperial” before the creation of the Lords of Trade in 1675. Cartographic evidence shows “a picture of central authority and territorial hegemony over Anglo-American peripheries” (p. 70); “by showing small portions of discovered and settled lands, the English artists could communicate effective occupation that the Iberians, regardless of their preemptive claims to the entirety of the New World, could not show” (p. 79). Jess Edwards studies John Locke's geographical ideas in conjunction with his promotion of the colonization of Carolina and finds a “distinctively Whiggish accommodation sought by Locke and Ashley between patriarchal stewardship and individual enterprise and dominion” (p. 112). Júnia Ferreira Furtado explains how the official maps that the cartographer and military engineer José Joaquim da Rocha made of Minas Gerais in the 1770s to verify that it was a Portuguese possession could ironically be charged with having rebellious intent in the abortive 1789 rebellion in the Brazilian captaincy. They showed the captaincy “as an autonomous entity,” cartographically “separate from the Portuguese colonies in Brazil” (p. 137).

The chapters on local knowledge are more Anglo-American in their geography if not necessarily their subjects. Gavin Hollis contributes to the burgeoning field of “ethnocartographic historiography” (p. 150) by tracing the cartographic encounters between First Nations authorities and John Lederer, a German surveyor in the English North American colonies in the 1660s and 1670s. He found incommensurabilities of knowledge: “Although Lederer records what he saw in his three expeditions, he is less certain about what he hears” (p. 162). William Gustav Gartner contributes the longest essay to the collection, on “performance cartography and the Skidi Star Chart,” “an image of the heavens painted by the

Skidi band of the Pawnee of south-central Nebraska sometime before 1867" (p. 172). Overcoming painful reflexivity and interpretative reluctance, he summarizes: "each cartographic sign of the Seven Stars on the Skidi Star Chart has multiple referents in Skidi life, from seemingly mundane acts like gambling and planting maize to cosmological explanations of how the heavens and earth came to be" (p. 201). Andrew Newman compares the Dutch use of a cow's hide—cut in thin strips to measure the circumference of the lands they wanted—in defrauding Algonkians to accounts of similar usages in other colonies going back to Dido's foundation of Carthage: "it is *the* story of colonial land transactions, not only in North America but also around the world" (p. 275). Matthew Edney considers the printing of maps of land grants during the mid-1750s conflict between the Plymouth and the Pejepscot companies over the definition of the Kennebec River in present-day Maine. Such grants usually remained in manuscript. That they were published testified to "new forms of sociability and literacy paralleling those that had developed in Britain; within this new community, an emergent Boston public laid claim to a right to pronounce on affairs of religion, state, and culture even as it sought to stifle more popular dissent. The new public's discourse rested on a rhetoric of disinterest, truthfulness, and rationality that was exemplified and sustained by mapping practices" (p. 278). Judith Ridner takes the example of the founding of Carlisle to show how Thomas Penn, the Pennsylvania proprietor in the 1730s, intended that "trade, rather than agriculture, could be the driving force of development in this region" (p. 313), as marked by the town's grid plan, its London-derived street names, and the naming of its encompassing county as Cumberland, after the victorious general at the battle of Culloden. Scott Lehman studies the maps of Havana in the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1740 to 1762 as an early instance of "journalistic cartography" (p. 340). British maps of Havana and Cuba were more frequent in newspapers than ones from "any other region in the Americas" (p. 343); they presented "a cartographic narrative that depicted the harbor as a penetrable, easily conquered space" (p. 346).

In the final section on "meta-cartographies," Barbara Mundy shows how indigenous maps in nineteenth-century Mexican atlases "connect to the larger question of indigenous peoples within the national territory of Mexico itself" (p. 366): "the desire of Mexican intellectuals to reclaim and celebrate the pre-Columbian past, thus marking their historical difference from Europe, was coincident with their aspirations to build a modern nation-state" (p. 388). The volume's editor, Martin Brückner, effectively concludes the collection with a surprising shaggy-dog story: in eighteenth-century Anglo-American society people were more interested in hanging wall maps as decoration than as information. Advertisements lumped them together with "everyday household ob-

jects" (p. 398): "physical size and detail rather than content or message dictated a map's monetary value" (p. 403). Their historical value depends on scholarly ingenuity, which is amply evident in this collection.

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P.J. Marshall

Remaking the British Atlantic: The United States and the British Empire after American Independence. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. vi + 335 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

Although it would be difficult to argue that any decade in U.S. history suffers in an absolute sense from a dearth of scholarship, the 1780s are not a scholarly favorite in the way that, say, the 1850s, 1860s, 1920s, 1930s, and 1960s are. To be sure, economic historians *used to* fight about the nature of economic conditions in the “new nation,” and political and constitutional scholars *used to* go round and round regarding the relative efficacy of the Articles of Confederation as a governing frame. On the whole, though, the decade—the records for which are not always rich—has not quite received its scholarly due.

That said, over the last twenty years or so, some talented scholars—the names Peter S. Onuf and Eliga H. Gould come immediately to mind—have provoked fresh interest in the 1780s by embedding developments in the fledgling United States into broader international circuits of one type or another. In so doing, these scholars (often associated in some way with Jack P. Greene) have brought together older historiographical traditions—imperial history, constitutional history, and diplomatic history, most notably—with emerging historiographies in Atlantic and global history, the happy result being to see the world of the 1780s anew.

P.J. Marshall's *Remaking the British Atlantic* nicely complements these studies. Marshall is hardly a new voice, but rather one of the most distinguished living historians of the British Empire, with a particular interest, especially earlier in his career, in the British East India Company's activities in eighteenth-century India. In recent years he has taken both to writing about the empire more broadly and to looking more closely at Britain's imperial position in the Atlantic world. These shifts are made manifest in the book under review.

The main themes of *Remaking the British Atlantic* are deceptively simple. Marshall's goal is two-fold: to detail and analyze both the process of political alienation between Great Britain and the United States in the 1780s and the process promoting close economic and cultural integration between the two countries during the same period. Noting that “historians have long identified these apparently contradictory trends in the years before the Revolution,” he aims to “explore their persistence after independence” (p. v).

Marshall more than meets these goals, providing ample—truth be told, sometimes overly ample—evidence in support of his argument. The archetypal British empirical historian, he proceeds at a slow pace, documenting every-

thing, and convincingly substantiating his somewhat modest interpretive claims. After reading this book, there can be little doubt that after the Revolution the political relationship between Great Britain and the United States was poor, and marked mainly by negative feelings on both sides, ranging at various points from anger to alienation, and from estrangement to indifference. It is equally clear from *Remaking the British Atlantic* that Britons and Americans, despite their fraught political relationship, maintained close economic and cultural links in the 1780s, and indeed even longer, as Sam Haynes has shown in *Unfinished Revolution* (2010).

If Marshall has accomplished the twin tasks he set for himself, he has also made a number of other (in some ways more interesting) scholarly contributions. Most of these incidental findings—scholarly lagniappes, as it were—pertain to the development of the British Empire, which, after all, is Marshall's stock in trade. He takes issue, for example, with the still widely held belief that the success of the American Revolution represented a “catastrophic” defeat for Great Britain. In fact, he argues convincingly that the Americans had not so much defeated the British as, in the words of George Washington, “baffled” them “in their plans of subjugating America” (p. 17).

Marshall politely rejects Vincent Harlow's sharp division of the British Empire into two phases—an early Atlantic phase focusing on colonies, white settlement, and commercial regulation, and a later phase marked by free trade and base settlements, mainly in Asia, with the American Revolution being the principal punctuation point separating the two. To Marshall, such a stark bifurcation will not do: the shifts and changes taking place were at once more gradual and subtle, and often contradictory and even contrapuntal. Contrary to Harlow's view, there was no rapid “swing to the East” by Great Britain in the 1780s and 1790s. Indeed, according to Marshall there was, if anything, a “swing to the South” whereby Britain shifted its attentions away “from the northern colonies with their large white populations not only to the plantation colonies of the West Indies, but also to the lands round the Gulf of Mexico and further south into Spanish America” (p. 176). It can also be argued, as Marshall points out, that Ireland and the Continent were more important foci of attention to British strategists in the late eighteenth century than were Africa, India, China, and other parts of the East.

The above points only hint at the riches to be found in *Remaking the British Atlantic*. That these riches pertain rather more to the British than the U.S. side of the relationship is not surprising given Marshall's background and training—he admits that almost all of the archival research for the book was done in Britain—and in no way detracts from this fine study by one of the most eminent figures in the field.

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Kristen Block

Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012. xiii + 309 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

In recent years, there have been several calls from Atlanticists—including Eliga H. Gould, David Armitage, Alison Games, and others—to make Atlantic history broader and more transnational in scope, especially in the Caribbean. Kristen Block's rich and sophisticated new book answers this challenge. Hers is a "serial microhistory" of poor whites and slaves brought into a "single frame" in an "integrated approach that moves across empires" (p. 3). Using this transnational lens to study the long seventeenth century, she argues for a closer examination of the voiceless and shows that religion was the primary "force for social inclusion and exclusion" in the Caribbean (p. 2).

Block's main argument is twofold. First, she asserts that religion—rather than nationality—was the primary means by which enslaved people and poor whites asserted their political and social identities in the early modern Caribbean. Second, she argues for a shift from religion to race as the determining factor in the development of social and political identities by the end of the seventeenth century. Undergirding this shift was a change in economic systems, from bureaucracies and monopolies to imperial competition and profit-seeking. Block, who is fluent in Spanish and has plumbed the depths of archives in Colombia, Barbados, Britain, Spain, and the United States, does an exemplary job of proving her first point—that religion allowed marginalized peoples of the Caribbean to both mitigate and define their sociopolitical status. Her second point, however, is much more original and interesting, if less well-developed.

In Part I, Block considers the 1639 case of Isabel Criolla, a slave in Cartagena who ran away from her abusive mistress, seeking protection from the Spanish governor. In this attempt to limit abuse through an appeal to shared Christian values, Isabel used religion as leverage, maintaining that a return to her abusive owner would jeopardize, or possibly condemn, her soul. Although the Catholic governor heeded her warning, her abusive mistress appealed the judgment in the Superior Court of New Granada and successfully overturned the lower court's ruling. Isabel may have met with initial success in her plight to mitigate the physical and sexual abuse she endured, but the "imbedded loyalties of local politics and power" eventually trumped even the shared Catholic mores of elites and converted slaves (p. 50).

Part II examines the 1651 Inquisition case of Nicholas Burundel, a "reputed Englishman and alleged heretic" who was accused of espousing his anti-Cath-

lic sentiments to local residents. Block investigates the way Burundel, who was actually a French Calvinist, embraced the performative aspects of Catholicism in order to maintain his innocence. A distinctive feature of “post-confessional culture” in the Caribbean was that “heartfelt conversion” was utilized to “express allegiance” (p. 68). Whether facing the Lord Inquisitor in Cartagena or serving as the servant of the Spanish governor of Jamaica, Burundel used religious performance to define himself as a Spanish Christian and eschew his perceived heretical Englishness.

Part III investigates the story of Henry Whistler, an English sailor who arrived in Hispaniola in 1654 as part of a company of soldiers dispatched to fulfill Cromwell’s “Western Design” in the New World. Using Whistler’s experience as a lens, Block contends that “analyzing the influence of gender and race on the religious politics” of Cromwell’s political economy in the Caribbean emphasizes Englishmen’s new sense of Protestant sociopolitical cohesion and authority, an identity that was forged in opposition to “ungodly” black slaves and officers loyal to Cromwell’s Puritanism (p. 112). Her point that a unique “free-born Englishmen” identity was defined against “white slavery,” African pagans, and a rejection of Cromwellian political economy, is easily the most original of the book.

Part IV follows two enslaved household servants, Yaff and Nell, who labored in the service of their Quaker owner, Lewis Morris, in Barbados. The slaves’ participation in worship meetings and Quaker instruction served as a negotiating tool that mitigated their condition as human chattel. Or so they believed. Instead, as Block shows, the realities of profit-seeking planters who sought to maximize production and the nearly constant threat of slave rebellion trumped Quakers’ commitment to kinship and universal love. While Quakers have usually been pinned as antislavery crusaders, Block emphasizes that the story of Yaff, Nell, and Lewis is a “more accurate story of exclusion and distrust between Quakers and their human chattel in this early period” (pp. 196–197).

Block should be lauded for her methodology; her emphasis on the “entangled histories” of the early modern Caribbean and on piecing together the lives of marginalized folk goes against the grain and reflects her creativity and moral obligation to her sources. However, her fierce commitment to the “stories” of the voiceless at times undercuts the power of her project. Although she states that religion, rather than nationality, is a more useful category of analysis, her argument about race trumping religion as a key determinant in identity begs to be read through the lens of “nation,” since “race” and “nation” became interchangeable terms by the 1700s. And Block could have developed and sharpened her analyses in many areas. For instance, the irony of religion being “one of the most powerful tools to control the enslaved” while also providing “slaves

with the best opportunities to evade that control” would have been a wonderful frame for many of the sections (p. 62). Similarly, her argument about the emergence of “free-born Englishmen” in Part III is fresh and provocative, but underdeveloped and mostly confined to a single section. Lastly, her claim that the hypocrisies and inequalities of religion allowed ordinary folk to negotiate that religion seems like an imposition of modern-day values on the past. Rather than characterizing early modern religion as hypocritical, Block might better have viewed it as inchoate; it was precisely this incipient state that allowed for marginalized peoples to negotiate it and claim it as their own.

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Elizabeth J. Clapp & Julie Roy Jeffrey (eds.)

Women, Dissent, and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America, 1790–1865. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. x + 214 pp. (Cloth US\$ 110.00)

As an international phenomenon, the movement to abolish the transatlantic slave trade—and later to end slavery itself—drew adherents from all walks of life. For decades, scholars have chronicled the effort's wide-ranging popularity in Europe and the Americas, as well as the numerous reasons inspiring those who rallied against the sale and oppression of their fellow humans. Religious conviction, economic self-interest, personal advancement, and political calculation have all been attributed to the movement's inception. Those with an interest in women's history and gender studies, for example, have long understood that abolitionism allowed women the opportunity to participate in a political public sphere generally restricted to men. *Women, Dissent, and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America, 1790–1865* takes that as a starting point to sort through the specific religious rationales that attracted nonconformist and other pious women to oppose slavery. Bridging between the United States and Britain, as well as between the abolitionist and emancipationist movements, this collection has ambitious aims. By no means attempting to be exhaustive, it instead presents eight strong essays that provide snapshots into the religious lives of female reformers.

Timothy Whelan deftly redirects attention away from antislavery writers, and toward those who published their pamphlets. He discusses Martha Guernsey, one of only three women in Britain to publish tracts related to the slave trade at the end of the eighteenth century. Guernsey used her status within London's Baptist community to vault William Fox's essay calling for a sugar boycott into one of the most widely distributed pamphlets of the period. Unlike his fellow authors, Whelan is not principally concerned with the exact theological underpinnings of his subject's actions. Nevertheless, his delineation of Guernsey's social network in the capital reinforces the importance of personal connections for abolitionists with religious sympathies.

The same held true across the Atlantic decades later. In a highly engaging essay, Stacey Robertson explains how women of the Old Northwest managed to construct strong associations across great distances and multiple denominations. Robertson reminds readers that coreligionists often disagreed about emancipation, resulting in congregants leaving churches, or being forced out of them. Indeed, one gets a better sense in her chapter of the many personal battles raging over the westward expansion of slavery in the United States.

Most of the remaining essays focus on the religious ideals inspiring female abolitionists. Alison Twells argues convincingly that theological specificity has

been lost in scholarship on abolitionism and Christianity. She contrasts the humanitarian goals of English congregations in urban Sheffield with those in the rural West Country. These geographic differences produced distinct abolitionist efforts as did the difference between the two areas' Congregational and Baptist proclivities. Moreover, Twells orients her subjects' calls for reform within a larger cosmology of religious and political thought. Julie Roy Jeffrey extends this approach to the antebellum United States, contending that abolitionist work fell into a broader regime of religious activism—so much so that women viewed the slow progress of antislavery as part of the normal routine of divine trial.

In a similar plea for specificity, Claire Midgley intricately reconstructs the life of Elizabeth Heyrick to uncover British reformers' turn toward immediate emancipation. Heyrick's groundbreaking 1824 essay, *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*, came after a complicated series of life events, originating in rational dissent, and culminating in her conversion to Quaker radicalism. Midgley shows that without properly understanding that biographical context, or the intricate evolution of religious ideology, abolitionist reforms in the nineteenth century become crudely homogenized. Likewise, her essay provides refreshing new evidence on the thoroughly understudied transition from abolitionism to emancipationism.

Judie Newman also exalts biography in her analysis of Harriet Beecher Stowe's writings. Stowe underwent her own changes in religious outlook, and an uncanny ability to meld contemporary political debates with ecclesiastical life allowed her to produce some of the most popular antislavery works in the Atlantic world, even after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Despite all of this attention to religious and individual detail, some equally important contexts are left out. Carol Lasser, for instance, elegantly dissects the reasons why reformers in the United States did not adopt consumer boycotts to the same degree as those in Britain and contends that North America's public sphere was gendered against female participation. But she avoids discussing the economic distinctions between the Old World and New. Not only did women in the United States live in much closer proximity to enslaved individuals, but the products of bound labor in mainland America were entirely different—as was their profitability—from those in Britain's Empire. This hints at another major problem in the volume: the absence of attention to free and enslaved individuals of African descent. Both Elizabeth J. Clapp in her introduction, and David Turley in his opening historiographical chapter, advocate for the inclusion of black and mixed-race agents in the story of abolitionism, but surprisingly none of the contributors take up their invitation. Scholars of slavery, including readers of this journal, have published numerous works

demonstrating how the enslaved helped to effect their own emancipation. Even those studying female dissenters in England have shown the participation of women of color (Jennings 2006). Those stories are not separate from the ones this volume hopes to tell.

Although it occasionally reads like much older histories exalting the work of abolitionist “Saints,” this collection makes an important plea for greater attention to religious diversity in the effort to end slavery. In the process it provides vital new insights, and even more detail, into the unfolding complexities of transatlantic abolition. Scholars of slavery and gender alike will find it a welcome addition to their bookshelves.

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Niklas Thode Jensen

For the Health of the Enslaved: Slaves, Medicine and Power in the Danish West Indies, 1803–1848. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012. xi + 352 pp. (Paper US\$70.00)

For the Health of the Enslaved explores the health of enslaved African Caribbeans in St. Croix, Danish West Indies (today the U.S. Virgin Islands) in the first half of the nineteenth century. Niklas Thode Jensen maps mortality, fertility, and disease patterns and develops case studies of the food and vaccination policies and the midwifery practices that shaped health experiences for the enslaved. Throughout he compares his results with findings from the British and French Caribbean, suggesting that the Danish West Indies—like the French Caribbean—witnessed a relatively high degree of state intervention due to the absolutist rule that shaped administrative culture in Denmark.

The first of the book's two sections depicts the world of disease in St. Croix by reconstructing slaves' health conditions. Negative population growth in the Danish West Indies was shaped, Jensen argues, by multiple factors such as nutrition, housing, and clothing that together with hard work caused illness and death. To confront this situation a European-derived and an African-derived medical system developed. The structure of the European West Indian health service was modeled on the contemporary Danish health system. Medical personnel, such as plantation doctors and midwives, worked under the supervision of a royally appointed doctor general (*landfysikus*) and this centralized system paved the way for the relative ease with which the West Indian administration intervened in health matters. Parallel to the state-sanctioned health service, enslaved African Caribbeans also engaged in medical practices to cure each other with herbal medicine and spiritual healing. African and European medical practices seldom overlapped.

The second section provides three fascinating case studies of health policies. These were largely ineffective since mortality rates did not change, but they nevertheless refigured the field of health by providing two competing sets of authority: that of the colonial state and that of the planter. The first case study focuses on nutrition. Jensen shows that the Danish West Indian administration assumed control over the food supply to enslaved workers through the effective implementation of minimum standards. This was done as a response to humanitarian concerns and to prevent unrest and rebellion. Although minimum rations together with slaves' own produce could not fulfill slaves' energy needs, and high mortality continued unabated, slaves could now refer to legal standards when complaining about their provisions and they would sometimes act in concert with colonial officials to sanction plantation staff.

Moving from nutrition to vaccination against smallpox, Jensen explores the policies developed to tackle one of the main causes of death among the slaves. He shows that the hierarchical nature of the Danish West Indian health service facilitated the implementation of the smallpox vaccine in 1818. The main goal for the introduction of the vaccine was the preservation of the enslaved labor force, and slaves were by law required to receive vaccination—in contrast to whites, free coloreds, and blacks. The public smallpox vaccination system was unique to the Danish West Indies, Jensen argues, and successfully prevented epidemics in the islands during the nineteenth century.

The third case study deals with midwifery. In the nineteenth century, the Danish West Indian administration attempted to expand the system of midwifery. This resulted in a midwifery field with many experts. There were European doctors, Danish royally appointed and state-employed midwives, and African Caribbean midwives, only some of whom were authorized by the administration. All had interests in enslaved women's birth practices and attempted to establish their prerogatives and expertise by complaining about each other. Overall the attempt to implement a Danish midwifery model failed, and unauthorized enslaved midwives continued to be responsible for most birth assistance. This failure, Jensen suggests, may in part be explained by the resistance of enslaved women to the methods of European doctors and midwives. Indeed, according to one observer the use of maternity wards was hindered by enslaved women's fear that evil spirits would devour their newborns if they were not secluded during the first days after birth.

Jensen's work is well researched and offers a thorough analysis of the health conditions and policies shaping the world of enslaved African Caribbeans. Few factual aspects are left untouched and readers will leave the book with a comprehensive knowledge of health and disease patterns in the Danish West Indies. Yet as the title indicates, Jensen also wants to analyze how health policies generated and shaped power relations among slaves and their superiors, and here his contribution is not as strong. His keen interest in the actual effects of medical initiatives tends to mask a deeper analysis of the way power and health intersect, and health policies are often seen as reflecting power relations external to the field of medicine rather than as generating racial inequalities and hierarchies of knowledge (p. 249). Nevertheless, *For the Health of the Enslaved* is a major contribution to the history of slavery in the Danish West Indies.

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Linda M. Rupert

Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012. xii + 347 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

The small island of Curaçao is something of an economic and demographic exception in the Caribbean, and its history harbors several unresolved historical problems. There were “plantations,” but they did not produce much sugar or coffee, and only a limited array of garden foods. It remains unclear whether the gardens were profitable or only served as a status symbol since their owners usually earned their money as merchants. The demography of the servile population of the island presents us with another historical riddle. Like the other islands in the region, Curaçao was the destination of a large number of slave ships. However, most of the imported slaves did not stay on the island, but were sold to the neighboring colonies. As a result, the slave population in Curaçao was smaller than that of the free population, and the number of slaves per owner was extremely small—not more than one or two, with only double digits in exceptional cases. In contrast to virtually all other colonies in the Caribbean, the number of slave ships arriving from Africa declined over time, and the last cargo of African slaves landed on the island in 1775. Elsewhere in the region, the ending of the slave imports would have resulted in a steady reduction of the slave population as the number of births among this group was usually lower than the number of deaths. On Curaçao, however, there is no indication of such a demographic decline.

All these exceptions made Curaçao a unique economy *cum* society, as it did not experience the dramatic economic growth that characterized plantation colonies elsewhere in the Caribbean. On first sight it seems puzzling that an increasing number of inhabitants—both free and slave—could make a living on the island, and that the Dutch West India Company (WIC) held on to Curaçao while it let go of much more promising colonial ventures such as New Netherlands in North America and New Holland in Brazil. In fact, the WIC had conquered Curaçao in 1634 because its excellent harbor was seen as an ideal stopover between these two Dutch possessions. Once this “grand design” failed, the economic prospects of Curaçao looked dim. But as this study demonstrates, the barren island succeeded in achieving economic growth with only a minor contribution from slavery by becoming a commercial center in its own right based on a regional network of mainly illegal trade connections.

Curaçao's commercial networks are carefully documented in this study. Linda Rupert shows that the island developed into a unique free port in the area and that behind the official façade of Dutch colonial rule there existed another world inhabited by local traders with their own commercial code,

their own creole language, and their own regional networks that would never have come to light by just studying the trade between Curaçao and the Dutch Republic. The majority of this “subaltern” group consisted of Sephardic Jews who continued living on the island, while other colonists usually considered their stay as temporary.

In order to prove her point that Curaçao was a major—if not *the* major—international port in the region, Rupert shows that the Amerindians in pre-Columbian times already used Curaçao as a trading hub, profiting from its geographical location close to the Venezuelan coast. This geographical advantage gained even more weight after the establishment of Spanish colonial rule, allowing the Curaçao merchants to disregard the laws that prohibited third parties from trading with the Spanish colonial possessions unless licensed by Madrid. Later Curaçao and the Dutch island of St. Eustatius developed an active trade with the French and English colonies with a similar disregard for the mercantilist rules and regulations. Contraband became the economic life-line of Curacao, creating a second mercantile group that stood apart from the dominant elite of the Protestant, Dutch-speaking officials and merchants. The novelty of this book lies in the detailed information about the symbiotic relationship between Curaçao and the nearby areas on the Venezuelan mainland.

In assessing the economic importance of Curaçao in the Dutch transatlantic trade, Rupert calculates that Curacao contributed a yearly average of about 3 million guilders per year during the 1740s, about half of the value of all transatlantic trade to the Dutch republic. These figures seem to underline the main thesis of this book about the dynamism of both the inter-Caribbean and transatlantic trades and the pivotal role of Curaçao in both. However, she is rather reticent about the fact that during the second half of the eighteenth century, the explosive growth of the Dutch and foreign plantation colonies reduced the relative economic importance of Curaçao for the Dutch Republic, while the Bourbon reforms and the liberalization of trade in Spanish America diminished Curaçao's earning potential. Free ports were no longer the exception in the region, and in the last decades of the eighteenth century, Curaçao plunged into a prolonged period of economic decline.

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Ray Costello

Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships. Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2012. xxiv + 248 pp. (Cloth £65.00)

The professed purpose of this volume is to isolate the history of seafarers of African descent from the broader history of people of color in Britain, and to popularize it (p. xiv). In this the author seems to respond to Ian Duffield's call for "sustained empirical enquiry" into black seafarers (Duffield 2000: 122). He seeks to recover black seafarers' voices and "contribution" (p. xii), offering a compensatory history that restores black people to British history, and arguing for their centrality to the national story. *Black Salt* purports to be based on "black narratives" (p. xii) though it strays from these occasionally. A preliminary history focused entirely on seafarers as distinct from other inhabitants of the Black Atlantic, the book could be a valuable addition to the literature, despite minimal original research. Its frequent reliance on outdated and superseded sources, however, means it must be approached with caution.

The book's subjects range from sea shanties to strikes, identifying interesting characters along the way. It traces black seamen's presence in British ships and Britain itself from their recruitment or enslavement on the West African Coast. It ranges from the Sierra Leone settlement to black settlements in British ports including Liverpool, Portsmouth, and Bristol. It usefully covers and distinguishes black service in both the Royal Navy and mercantile marine. It locates black seamen throughout the North Atlantic, including North America and beyond: Nova Scotian William Hall was decorated for his service during the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The book relates the stories of black sea service in multiple wars, including the Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic wars, and the world wars of the twentieth century. The author has apparently produced several books based on oral histories with black Liverpoolians, and the parts of the book relying on these prove the most intriguing.

Neither author nor press, however, apparently felt the need to work this fascinating material into a coherent narrative, argument, or interpretation. Fragmentary arguments appear, such as the reference to black men's well documented role in the Battle of Trafalgar: "seafarers of African descent were notable, if anything, for their ordinariness ... ubiquitous and expected ... becoming accepted, in a rough, limited sort of way" (p. 68). Surely it is precisely such limits that the scholar must delineate. Bringing evidence systematically to bear on this or other questions might have made for a more dynamic and fruitful enquiry.

A book of such ambitious scope necessarily relies heavily on the work of others. Drawing liberally and somewhat indiscriminately on popular as well

as scholarly literature, *Black Salt* contains almost no original research, and when it does appear it is isolated and sporadic rather than systematic or substantial. For instance, the author cites one ship's muster and one burial registry (p. 74) rather than undertaking systematic analysis of a larger number of either that might have yielded significant new knowledge or even a new interpretation.

As a synthesis of extant literature which could serve usefully as an introduction to the question, the book falls short, often relying on decades-old scholarship while ignoring more substantial and up-to-date treatments. Questions ill served in this way include the Sierra Leone settlement, Britain's nineteenth-century black population, the 1919 riots, the Coloured Alien Seaman Order of 1925, the role of the National Union of Seaman, and relations between Elder Dempster shipping lines and its crews. Citing the major works omitted would exhaust the word limit for this review, but an example is the book's reliance on a half-dozen pages of journalist Peter Fryer's 1984 survey *Staying Power* (1984: 298–301, 315) to discuss the riots of 1919, when Jacqueline Jenkinson's definitive monograph on these riots appeared with the same press in 2009. Failure to engage this literature becomes consequential when the author erroneously identifies "poorer sections of British society" as the principal perpetrators of racism, and interracial marriages as the catalyst for the 1919 riots (pp. 152, 153). No justification appears for the book's focus on seafarers of African descent (p. xviii) while excluding other colonized people who populated British ships and port communities. Indeed, the author appears unaware that most of the 8000-some men registered under the Coloured Alien Seamen Order after 1925 were of Asian or Arab rather than African or African diasporic origin (p. 165).

The book is successful as a work of compensatory history, but not as an original contribution to scholarly knowledge, nor as a particularly new interpretation. An admittedly popular work intended to appeal to "black youngsters" (p. xix) seems an odd choice for a university press and the author alike. Scholars of the many periods covered, conversely, will need to delve deeper into the relevant literature, both cited and omitted.

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Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana P. Candido & Paul E. Lovejoy (eds.)

Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2011. 297 + xii pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

This volume is the product of an international conference held at the Université Laval in Quebec in 2005. As stand-alone chapters, most are well researched and provocative. However, beyond the fact that each chapter engages with memory and slavery, there is no obvious logic to the collection. Put simply, the volume is not more than the sum of its parts.

An introductory chapter pointing to common themes and stating the overall significance of the whole would have been helpful. Why place side-by-side essays using a range of sources (archival, oral, architectural, and artistic) and addressing the ways slavery has been remembered in a variety of places on both sides of the Atlantic? What is to be gained by bringing together scholars who write mostly in French with scholars who write mostly in English? What theoretical, methodological or historiographical contribution does *Crossing Memories* make? Bogumil Jewsiewicki's chapter, which opens the volume, does not answer these questions. Rather, it is a general statement about the politics and processes involved in forging collective memories.

Next comes Paul Lovejoy's essay on personal memories and, particularly, those of Gustavus Vassa (Olaudah Equiano) concerning his African past. Lovejoy argues that as with all autobiographies, Vassa's is based on selective memories, "interpreted in the context of later knowledge" and shaped by the politics surrounding what he wanted to reveal about his past and what he wanted to hide (p. 31). For an understanding of Vassa's life, these points are important since in the past decade some have argued that he lied when claiming an African birth. Lovejoy's thoughts on this are clear. Vassa was born in Africa and experienced the Middle Passage; his account of it, and other aspects of his life, was a product of memory, imagination, and later life experiences framed in the context of the times in which he lived and wrote.

Vassa pops up again in a chapter by Nadine Hunt, who examines the intra-Caribbean slave trade in the first half of the nineteenth century. Vassa's account of sailing from Jamaica to Central America in 1776 frames her essay, since the ship transported a number of enslaved Africans who were later sold. Hunt provides useful information about the importance of Jamaica and Curaçao as transshipment points for slaves. This is an aspect of the transatlantic slave trade that has not been examined to the extent that shipments from Africa to the Americas have. But the chapter is oddly placed in a volume about memory. Hunt does not interrogate the nature of memory as much as she pulls together

shipping records and scattered notes, such as Vassa's, to tell us something about slave trading.

Ana Lucia Araujo's fascinating essay takes us to the present and to the ways that the past is memorialized. Her subject is the famous Brazilian slave merchant Francisco Félix de Souza who lived in and sold captives from Dahomey (present-day Benin). He and his descendants married into local families and forged a lasting presence in the African coastal kingdom. Araujo traces how de Souza has been remembered over time in public discourse. Today, living de Souza family members, keen to encourage tourism, frame the merchant's story as "a celebration of 'miscegenation' and the encounter of cultures" (p. 97). By reconstructing memories through state-endorsed tourism projects, they have regained considerable political capital through the celebration of a slave trader (something "inconceivable from a Western point of view"), but not, as Araujo makes clear through a deep ethnographic study, in Benin in the twenty-first century.

Another excellent chapter is Mariana P. Candido's, "Tracing Benguela Identity to the Homeland." She argues that Benguela, the name of a port in West Central Africa, emerged as an ethnonym in Brazil and Africa as a result of the Atlantic slave trade. This essay tells us much about the creation of new identities in the period and the ways in which Africans in the diaspora constructed memories of their lives across the ocean.

Using understudied collections at the Harriet Tubman Institute in Canada, Mohammed Bashir Salau argues against a notion that there is not much oral data about slavery that can be collected in Africa. Modern African memories of slavery, he demonstrates, do exist and can serve as sources for historical reconstructions.

Wendy Wilson-Fall also examines oral traditions. Her project is rooted in Virginia, with African Americans who claim descent from Malagasy slaves. The essay raises a host of questions about why Africanist historians rely heavily on oral traditions while Americanists seem less inclined to do so. But it skirts important differences between literate and non-literate societies and the impact of the media on how people remember the past.

Crossing Memories also includes chapters by Lorelle D. Semley about the memory of the slave trade in Ketu, Benin, Mariza de Carvalho Soares about depictions of slaves in art in Brazil, and Yacine Daddi Addoun about manumission in Ottoman Algeria.

Scholars interested in the particular times and places that the contributors have researched will value selected chapters in this volume. Moreover, those chapters that force a rethinking of the way historical memory is constructed will be of interest to readers of this journal.

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Manuel Barcia

The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom in Matanzas.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012. xii + 234 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50)

Between the 1760s and the 1840s, Cuba became the principal sugar producer for the global markets and the largest importer of slaves in the Western Hemisphere. At first sight, these changes might appear to be curious, since they occurred around the same time that abolitionism was gaining ground. The historiography of the nineteenth-century Atlantic has approached this seeming contradiction from various vantage points. Some scholars have argued that the decline of slavery in certain areas of the Atlantic made room for its rise in other regions. Others, who have focused primarily on antislavery movements, have examined the retooling of expanding Atlantic networks of communication and commerce toward abolitionist ends. Within this latter historiographic body, the Haitian Revolution and British abolitionism have occupied a privileged ground. By focusing on West Africa as a starting point for antislavery struggles in Cuba, Manuel Barcia's *The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825* inserts a new chapter in the historiography of nineteenth-century abolitionism.

A nuanced analysis of a little explored slave uprising that took place in the Cuban countryside near Matanzas, the book constitutes a call for in-depth research on the continuities between political transformations taking place in West Africa and slave unrest in Cuba during the nineteenth century. The historiography of pre-1868 Cuba has focused primarily on the Aponte Rebellion and the conspiracy of La Escalera as the main uprisings organized by slaves and free people of color. For historians, the attractiveness of these two events stems, partially, from their reverberations and make-up: they involved a range of participants (such as English abolitionists and Haitian revolutionaries) whose entanglements in Atlantic antislavery networks could be located within the historical record. However, Barcia argues, in Cuba there were at least forty plots or rebellions, most of them organized by slaves who had been born in Africa, that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century and that have received little scholarly attention. Analyzing them would help us better understand the ways in which political processes in West Africa shaped the Atlantic.

According to Barcia, the 1825 rebellion began when a group of slaves (who lived and worked on the coffee plantations in the area of Guamacaro) sought to exact revenge against white planters and overseers. The records of the Military Commission (the institution responsible for judging the rebels), which is the main source for the account, seem to remain silent on the nature of the rebels' desire for revenge or on the existence of other goals. The sources also remain unclear about how carefully organized the uprising was. Barcia thus opens an

interesting avenue for further research on the motivations underscoring the slave uprisings that occurred in Cuba during this time. Were there common threads running through them? In what ways were they politically minded?

Barcia is particularly interested in the "Africanization" of slave revolts in Cuba in the first half of the nineteenth century. Drawing on ethnic terminology employed by the local planters, he argues that the 1825 rebels were Ganga, Mandingo, Lucumí, and Carabalí, and that they surmounted ethnic and linguistic differences after sharing the same experience of the Middle Passage (many arriving on the same boats). Using information provided by notarial records, he concludes that many of the slaves working on the local coffee plantations were related through kinship ties that went back to Africa. He suggests that evidence for the continuities between the rebels' past in Africa and their condition in Cuba were the language that the rebels used to describe their actions as "war," their country marks, their inability to speak Spanish, and their military tactics. The record that Barcia works with remains, however, thin on how the meaning of the rebels' birthplace might have informed their behavior in the Caribbean. He sometimes assumes continuity and a unified "African-ness" even though he describes interethnic collaborations that had occurred during and after the Middle Passage. This simply shows the difficulty of tracing West African influences in the Caribbean drawing on a sparse record that remains heavily mediated by the voices of the colonial authorities. Given the limitations of the Cuban and Spanish archives, it might be interesting to consider whether additional archival/oral history material from or on West Africa could provide further insights into the nature of political mobilization among Afro-descendants in the Caribbean. For instance, one issue that such material might shed further light on is the extent to which the ethnic descriptors that Cuban planters used corresponded with ethnic self-identifications in West Africa. Barcia's work thus opens conversations between Africanist and Caribbeanist historiography that could give new impetus to Atlanticist historiography.

Another contribution of the book is its careful consideration of the rebellion's long-term effects. There appear to be continuities between this uprising and La Escalera (1844), a larger-scale antislavery conspiracy, also emanating from Matanzas. The memory of 1825 might have lingered with some of the local inhabitants and at least one surviving rebel participated in both. The 1825 events also shaped planters' surveillance strategies, which expanded to include more materially limiting lodgings for enslaved laborers and a regionally specific slave code. Barcia attributes these policies to the planters' reactions to the 1825 rebellion *per se*. One question worth considering is whether the planters' perception of the 1825 rebellion was not in fact colored by their fears of the repetition of the Haitian Revolution in Cuba; as such, the new policies might have

been part of a broader reaction to Haiti, rather than a response to this particular rebellion alone.

Barcia injects new energy into current debates about the position of Africa in the nineteenth-century Atlantic, while providing a nuanced description of an event in the trajectory of the Cuban plantation system that, up till now, has remained little studied. The book constitutes an excellent resource for those interested in the world of nineteenth-century Atlantic slavery and abolition and anyone teaching or taking courses on related topics.

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Alexander von Humboldt

Political Essay on the Island of Cuba: A Critical Edition, introduced by Vera Kutzinski & Ottmar Ette. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011. xxvi + 519 pp. (Cloth US\$65.00)

The most important feature of this publication for an English-language readership is its completeness. (French, Spanish, or German readers have had it better since the nineteenth century.) The editors and their staffs have restored Humboldt's text in the "exact order of the French original" of 1826. Their aim was to provide the first unabridged edition of the two-volume French original in a readable English version, sticking very close to that original. By including the section against slavery, they have set a standard for the twenty-first century. Humboldt didn't have "Imperial Eyes."

Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, Anglophone readers had to content themselves with the "falsified" version of John S. Thrasher (2001). Using the second Spanish translation (Bustamante 1829), he erased the section against slavery, though the Markus Wiener/Ian Randle edition of 2001 restores it from the German text (see my 2004 review, *NWIG* 78:131–134).

The "new English Humboldt" begins with an excellent introduction by Vera M. Kutzinski and Ottmar Ette entitled "Inventories and Inventions: Alexander von Humboldt's Cuban Landscapes," a "Note on the Text," and Humboldt's "Reasoned Analysis of the Map of the Island of Cuba" accompanied by his first (1820) map of the island of Cuba. (Compare the figure and position of the Bay of Pigs [Ensenada de Cochinos] and the port of Cienfuegos with his 1826 map [pp. 198–199].)

Following the main text, a nearly 100-page section entitled "Annotations" constitutes an outstanding analysis. This section is intended to give readers "a sense of the extensive global network that Humboldt created and carefully nurtured during his lifetime ... by emphasizing relevant connections between the historical personalities that populated his essay's pages" (p. 471). Next come a very interesting essay entitled "Alexander von Humboldt's Library," a useful list of Humboldt's maps, a short (arguably too short) "Chronology," an "Editorial Note" (which discusses the French edition, translations, and the present edition), a subject index, and finally a "toponym index." I would suggest that readers begin with the "Editorial Note," where the editors rightly comment: "From today's perspective, it is astonishing that an early nineteenth-century text, to which scholars in the Spanish-, French- and German-speaking parts of the world have long attributed great significance and influence, has not been available in a complete and reliable English translation until now" (p. 465).

Some critical observations may be useful. First, the introduction includes some perspectives about the island that do not reflect the full importance of Cuba (for history, for the American space, and for Humboldt). And the annotations contain errors about Francisco de Arango's position, about slavery, slave trade, and slaves, about persons concerned with these issues such as Nicolás Calvo (who died on December 15 or 16, 1800, and could therefore not have accompanied Humboldt during his first stay in Cuba, which began on December 19) and Esteban Montejo (see Zeuske 1999), and about the 1810–30 wars of independence in the Spanish continental colonies (especially in Venezuela [1811–21]) and the role of Simón Bolívar (see Zeuske 2012).

Humboldt myths are persistent and strong. And the perspectives about Humboldt are often misled by a supposition that his political behavior was “democratic”—see the mention of his “unshakable democratic convictions” (p. vii), or the jump from 1790 (the aristocratic and constitutional phase of French Revolution, when France was still a monarchy) to Humboldt's positive behavior in the revolution in March 1848 (when he honored the dead of the uprising). We do not really know much about Humboldt's political positions; my understanding is that he was first of all a revolutionary of writing, scientific research, and culture, and a liberal in all the positive connotations of this concept at the end of the eighteenth century and with all the problems of liberalism in the nineteenth century. And yes, Humboldt was an enemy of slavery (and the slave trade) as well as of colonialism. This is true. But there is a “postcolonial problem”—the agency of the enslaved. In relation to Cuba this means taking into account the slaves and their voices, and the ways the slave trade and slavery should be abolished and the slaves emancipated (through themselves, through the state, or through owners).

None of the historical and philosophical European writers of the nineteenth century placed the island in as much of a central position of their work as Humboldt. I think we owe this to Cuba's central position in what now is called “Second Slavery” (Tomich 1988). During his travels in the American continents Humboldt was interested in the island of Cuba as an Atlantic/Caribbean intersection of the Americas—that means Havana as an imperial port. And—as the enormous material about maps and measurements in this publication shows—as a relatively small and feasible example for the new technologies of geographic position measurements and the use of the results for the production of a new map, made by Humboldt (the map of Cuba of 1826). Humboldt remained in Cuba only a little over eighty days during his first visit (December 19, 1800–March 15, 1801) and some forty days during the second (March 19–April 29, 1804)—a total of four months. The island itself was not a “global island” for him, but Havana was a global intersection port with an interesting social life

(after the solitude of his studies of *tropicalité* in the marginal regions of today's Venezuela—the main content of his three-volume *Relation historique* [Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent ... 1814–1831]). Most of the persons he contacted in Havana, with whom he lived and became friends, were big slaveholders and even merchant bankers and slave traders. (During his first stay he was a guest of the de la Cuesta family, by this time the most important *negreros* in Cuba.) Humboldt saw *el interior* (Cuba outside of Havana) only for a few days, the longest stay being some ten days of winter vacations in the most modern *ingenio* (sugarmill) of Río Blanco (February 1801, southeast of Havana, near Güines), owned by Joaquín [Beltrán] de Santa Cruz y Cárdenas, Count of Mompox [Mopox] and Jaruco. Humboldt did not write a travelogue during his stay in 1800/1801 and the travel diary he did write in 1804, “Isle de Cube, Antilles en général” (which was very important for the text that later became the *Political Essay*), does not play any role in today's Humboldt research (including this edition) because it has still not been transcribed and edited. Humboldt was not very interested in slavery in Cuba in 1801, and only a little bit more in 1804. He became much more interested in a variety of specific slaving issues later on—abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in Great Britain and the United States when he lived in Paris and visited London after 1808, the Congress of Vienna with its declaration against slavery after 1815, and abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico after 1820. Humboldt was aware that what really happened after 1825 (the bubble crisis of South American bonds) was that Cuba (with Brazil, Puerto Rico, and the South of the United States) was booming only because of the “Second Slavery” (a modern, industrial mass slavery in the sugar fields, cotton, and coffee plantations) and because of the trafficking of human bodies from Africa to the Americas despite all the abolitionist rhetoric and discourses or treaties. This was the real, historical base of Humboldt's Cuba: the *Cuba grande* (a concept introduced by Heinrich Friedlaender in 1944), analyzed in the *Political Essay on Cuba* (which he decided to publish only in 1826), which became the well-known two-volume freestanding edition (the “French original”), based on his travel diary of 1804.

Humboldt's mention of the status of slaves in independent Colombia and, in relation to this “new” status, the praise of Bolívar deserved a note by the editors. This is quite directly Humboldt's “postcolonial problem”: “Salutary changes in the status of slaves are imminent. According to the laws governing the newly independent states, slavery will gradually vanish; the republic of Colombia pioneered gradual emancipation. This measure, at once prudent and humane, can be credited to the selflessness of GENERAL BOLIVAR” (pp. 319–320). This manumission law (debated from 1819 until 1821, and then proclaimed) consisted in the freedom of the womb (children of slave women were declared “free” but

stayed with their mothers), the fixing of surviving slaves under the control of their masters and owners, the formal renaming of all slaves into *manumisos* (the formal and legal concept for liberated slaves), a period of apprenticeship for all *manumisos* (including the “free”-born children of slaves) of 18 years first (which was prolonged different times) and, after all this, a compensation to the masters for each (real) liberated slave. This law, praised by Humboldt, was much more a prolongation of slavery. Not only the state (where slave masters ruled) but first of all the masters themselves controlled the long, long process of “abolition.” Slavery was finally abolished in 1851 in Nueva Granada and 1854 in Venezuela. Humboldt, in this “postcolonial problem,” was as conservative as both Arango and Bolívar.

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Par Kumaraswami (ed.)

Rethinking the Cuban Revolution Nationally and Regionally: Politics, Culture and Identity. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. 181 pp. (Paper US\$ 34.95)

This volume presents rehashing of previously published material more than scholarly contributions for revised comprehension of the Cuban Revolution. The recently proposed economic and political changes in Cuba are barely mentioned, even though they were being discussed prior to the book's publication.

There are two articles on literature: Par Kumaraswami's "Peripheral Visions? Literary Canon Formation in Revolutionary Cuba" and Odette Casamayor-Cisneros's "Floating in the Void: Weightlessness in Post-Soviet Cuba Narrative." The latter also discusses the problem of youth, as does Anne Luke's "Creating the Quiet Majority? Youth and Young People in the Political Culture of the Cuban Revolution." The purpose of Kumaraswami's article is to understand the canons of literature during the Cuban Revolution. However it is written in an almost incomprehensible and inaccessible style, and lacks definitions for the vocabulary used. What does it mean to say that "the formation of the canon is dependent on the Bourdieusian notion of 'consecration' of a number of literary works by various 'disinterested' mechanisms and agents" (p. 95)? Or again, "for a nation to be considered literarily mature, it must demonstrate in its literary production its evolving disregard for its political objectives" (p. 96).

Casamayor-Cisneros is far more comprehensible, introducing us to young authors of the post-Soviet Union/Special Period generation who, in comparison with older generations, express feelings of alienation and/or indifference toward the revolutionary process: "these young Cubans have been unable to find an epic meaning to their existence" (p. 39) and lack "community identity" (p. 46). Historical events such as Playa Girón and the missile crisis are "obsolete and incoherent" (p. 50). However, she uses very few literary examples to define a whole generation and presents no basis for her generalizations.

Anne Luke's article focuses on the history of youth during the Cuban Revolution. "The first decade of the twenty-first century saw a new emphasis on youth unparalleled since the 1960s" (p. 130). Initiatives have been introduced to reintegrate young people into society, providing neither work nor study, and therefore not contributing to building socialism. Luke attributes youth-related problems to the lack of a mass youth organization. Yet the high school and college student organizations serve as such. She laments that the Union of Communist Youth has been unable to nudge young people to meet a standard of behavior (p. 142). But why is it unattainable? Furthermore she fails to update the article by including current statistics and surveys regarding Cuban youth.

John M. Kirk's article, "Cuban Medical Internationalism under Raúl Castro," provides valuable insights and data regarding Cuba's history of sending medical doctors to other countries and training their doctors. It also explores the international trade potentials for Cuba's pharmaceutical products.

In "Cuba's Internationalism Revisited: Exporting Literacy, ALBA, and a new Paradigm for South-South Collaboration," Kepa Artaraz examines how Latin American countries have attempted to replicate the achievements of the Cuban Revolution: the literacy campaign, meeting basic human needs, universal and free education and health systems, and medical diplomacy. Cuba has regained prestige, demonstrated by the rejection of U.S. attempts in the United Nations to condemn Cuba's human rights record, and the overwhelming support for Cuba to rejoin the OAS. Artaraz should have added the U.N.'s continued overwhelming rejection of the embargo against Cuba, and mentioned that the United States is the only country in the Western Hemisphere lacking diplomatic relations with Cuba.

"Celebrating 50 Years—but of What Exactly and Why is Latin America Celebrating It?" by Antoni Kapcia, expands Artaraz's theme regarding Cuba's accomplishments influencing Latin America. The early years brought the agrarian reforms, mobilization of and participation by the population, militias and the CDR, the literacy campaign, the Cuban Cinema Institute (ICAIC), and Casa de las Americas. Kapcia dates the change from nationalism to socialism to 1961, but fails to mention, in this context, several key events: the United States cutting the sugar quota and breaking diplomatic relations, the nationalization of the oil refineries, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and the Second Declaration of Havana. While he correctly notes that economic centralization followed, he makes no mention of the nationalization of almost all economic activity in 1968. Contrary to Kapcia, it was Cuban voters, not the National Assembly, who gave final approval for the 1976 Cuban Constitution. Furthermore, he fails to point out that the new parliamentary system established in Cuba had important differences with the Soviet model (p. 66; see Roman 2003:61–103). In the 1990s Cuba again stressed nationalism and localism (pp. 69–71). Lacking in both Kapcia's and Artaraz's articles is the fact that overcentralization, far from being a model to emulate, is being recognized in Cuba as a cause of the current economic crisis.

Elvira Antón Carrillo's "Ideas of Race, Ethnicity and National Identity in the Discourse of the Press During the Cuban Revolution" traces the changing ways the Cuban government has dealt with the problem of racism. Until the end of the twentieth century racism was officially considered solved by socialism and not discussed in the press. "At the current moment, there is a wider acceptance of the existence of discrimination in Cuban society" (p. 16). Discrimination is

manifested in jobs, living conditions, and the prison population. She reviews some of the literature, but offers no backup to her claims of persistent discrimination. Without explanation she asserts that the elites “play a crucial role in the creation, maintenance and reproduction of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination” (p. 20). She fails to note that President Raúl Castro’s address to the 2011 Communist Party Congress clearly acknowledged the problem of racism (Castro 2011).

Steve Ludlam’s “Regime Change and Human Rights: A Perspective on the Cuban Polemic” consists of a rehash of Cuba’s interpretation of human rights, the U.S. campaigns against Cuba, backing groups committing terrorist acts against Cuba and those favoring regime change in Cuba, and the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

I do not regard this book as essential reading for understanding and gaining new perspectives on the Cuban Revolution.

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Anna Cristina Pertierra

Cuba: The Struggle for Consumption. Coconut Creek FL: Caribbean Studies Press, 2011. vii + 275 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.50)

This rich ethnographic account of consumption practices in the Tivolí neighborhood of Santiago de Cuba provides a breath of fresh air by shifting focus from Havana-centric Cuba research to an economic anthropological investigation of *el oriente*. The book foregrounds the way conditions of a shortage economy make struggles for consumption a contested arena that articulates a series of often conflicting political and moral engagements. In doing so, Pertierra's study is reminiscent of earlier accounts by scholars such as Amy Porter (2008) that privilege Cuban consumption as the main unit of cultural analysis to comment on larger ideas of citizenship, socioeconomic hierarchies, and Cubans' ambivalent orientations toward the nation-state.

The book is an easy read and its biggest strength, by far, is its evasion of unnecessary jargon, making it accessible to a wide academic and non-academic audience. It is abundant with "thick description" of the textures of everyday life in Tivolí. In Chapter 1, Pertierra pays keen attention to describing the Tivolí community in relation to the larger urban environment and also painstakingly introduces her (largely female) informants in order to more fully contextualize their narratives. By outlining chronicles of food acquisition, biographies of household goods, and access to new media technologies, the book reveals how consumption strategies are fundamental to these women's attempts at exerting control over their lives and gendered senses of self.

Chapter 2 offers the conceptual framework for the book and interrogates the manifold faces of *la lucha* or "struggle" as a grand narrative running through Cuban history. Pertierra astutely observes that the discursive power of *la lucha* lies in "its flexibility to simultaneously adopt and critique Cuban socialism" (p. 98). Like other scholars, she shows how *la lucha* provides a "dignified counterpoint" (p. 101) to the idea of *la doble moral*, or double morality, where Cubans partake in what they acknowledge as morally suspect activities in the name of economic survival. The title of the book itself suggests that the seemingly contradictory notions of the struggle emerge as the enduring cultural lens through which consumption practices get refracted in Cuba. As Richard Fagen (1979:11) put it, "Although the tactics and targets change, the *lucha* itself, with its emphasis on personal and collective sacrifice, never ceases."

The ethnographic sections of the book follow the consumption and circulation of products in three main social fields. Chapter 3 takes on the complex ways Cubans ensure food security through informal networks of trust and friendship in the face of severe instability and scarcity in state ration supplies. Chapter 4

traces the social lives of objects in Pertierra's informants' homes, from living room furnishings and decorative items to Soviet and post-Soviet kitchen appliances and electronics. Pertierra demonstrates how the cultural biographies of these objects index their local and global trajectories, migration patterns, ideologies of modernity, and newfound wealth, as well as ideas of being a good revolutionary. Chapter 5 deliberates the consumption of television and new media and argues that rather than dissatisfaction with state censorship of the Internet, foreign movies and TV shows, etc., Cubans were more discontent with socioeconomic inequalities in the access to these technologies. Like the other chapters, this one nests the discussion within economic disparities emerging from the dual economy and also critiques isolationist rhetoric surrounding scholarship about Cuba by underscoring the transnational nature of these media circuits.

The book presents a "social map" (p. 158) of the ways that these products flow and shows how their consumption is not a value-neutral exercise. However, unlike Pertierra's earlier self-reflexive piece (2007) on being a bride in the field, which boldly outlines the nature of intimate social relationships as well as informal networks, this book foregrounds the "things" rather than the *exchange* relations in which consumption is embedded. Pertierra certainly considers the social networks of trust in the informal economy, especially with respect to food provisioning, but the complexities of the expectations in and strategic activation of these relationships is ethnographically underdeveloped. Moreover, the book downplays the fears of prosecution in various kinds of illegal activities and relegates them as secondary to, for instance, the concerns about the quality of food (p. 134). This kind of assertion is partly a result of the analytical focus of the research that places products in the spotlight, but it could be interrogated further with a more meticulous exploration of Cuban state surveillance and its profound impact on risk assessments in social networks.

There is also some degree of inconsistency in the narrative of the book. A central part of Pertierra's argument, as she clearly states in the beginning, is that "in areas of consumption, people's complaints are not necessarily a complaint against the Cuban government or the legitimacy of its founding principles" (p. 47). As one reads on though, the book also shows how political subjectivities are forged, challenged, and worked out in the realm of consumption. While the complaints documented in the book don't critique revolutionary principles as such, they are indeed reflections of Cubans' frustration and explicit grievances toward the government. Additionally, these complaints seem to be against the government precisely for its failure both to fulfill its paternalistic role as the provider of basic goods and services and to uphold its socialist egalitarian ideology.

On the whole, Pertierra provides a good overview of consumption practices in Cuba. She does a fine job of capturing the sights, sounds, and smells of neighborhood life in Tivoli in a way that makes this book familiar to any scholar studying Cuba and also interesting to neophytes beginning to understand the island's complex socioeconomic transition.

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Umi Vaughan & Carlos Aldama

Carlos Aldama's Life in Batá: Cuba, Diaspora, and the Drum. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. xx + 179 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

According to a Yoruba proverb, “A journey is never so pleasant that the traveler does not return home.” So it is with this book by Umi Vaughan and Carlos Aldama. The coauthors track the transplantation of *batá* drumming from West Africa to Cuba in the early nineteenth century, its evolution on the island, its onward journey to the United States since the 1970s, and current practice among *batá* communities particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area. Some in the latter context seek connection with “universal human values and emotions” (p. 146) and others, particularly African Americans like Vaughan, seek “the Africa within” (p. 147).

The book's acknowledgments are a who's who of *batá* practice. This is to be expected for Aldama, who commands legendary status as a drummer, while Vaughan has clearly become connected to a wide community of specialists. Their respect for *batá* drumming is reflected in the care they take to present it with elegance and sophistication. Vaughan describes his attempt to represent Aldama's testimony in its original vibrancy, and “cut, cut, and cut away at our six-year conversation to make it fit between the covers of this book” (p. 11). What remains is a reflexive and illuminating window into a powerful yet often misunderstood musical and spiritual tradition, and the journeys that Aldama and Vaughan have made through its past, present, and future.

Chapters 1–3 present Aldama's insights into the early development of *batá* drumming, complemented by Vaughan's contextual analyses of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the transmission of Yoruba culture to Cuba, and the tensions between Afro-Cuban religious expression (particularly Santería) and the Revolutionary government of Fidel Castro. The narrative never drifts far from the journey of the *batá* drums (*okónkolo*, *itótele*, and *iyá*) from Yorubaland to Havana, Matanzas, and Santiago de Cuba, and the subsequent evolution of their practice and pedagogy. Aldama's advice on performance technique, such as using improvisation to demonstrate one's vitality (*estar presente*) (p. 26), is valuable information for readers who also play the *batá*. His stories about the founding fathers of Cuban *batá* drumming bring the fragments of lore one hears on the streets of Havana into a coherent and authoritative historiography. Only somebody who grew up at the source, apprenticed in his case to the master drummer Jesús Pérez, could relate this level of detail.

Vaughan does well to select, convey, and interpret Aldama's stories. Whereas more pedantic (and probably less experienced) outsiders go to great pains to pinpoint “correct” *batá* practice and technique, Vaughan is comfortable and

confident enough to acknowledge the flexibility of tradition: “In the end, it seems that the reactions of the community of *santeros* and the *oricha* [saints] themselves determine which changes are acceptable and/or become part of the vocabulary of the drum” (p. 38).

Chapter 4, on diaspora, will resonate on a personal level with many readers. Vaughan uses the term to describe three communities: Cubans in and outside the island, people of African descent wherever they may live, and those interested in the *batá* drums regardless of their ethnicity and background. Readers may or may not be Cuban and/or of African descent, but if this book is in their hands they belong to the latter diaspora. By implicating readers in the ongoing development of *batá* history, the chapter invites us to think about who we are and why we care. As Vaughan puts it: “Who owns the tradition? Who knows more? What gives you the right?” (p. 100). Aldama laments the scarcity of opportunities in the San Francisco Bay Area to play authentic *batá* ceremonies at the level of intensity he knew in Cuba: “Why should I kill myself practicing all that if I have nowhere to use it?” (p. 109). This is a common dilemma for *batá* drummers outside Cuba, and one that further provokes readers (most with even less performance opportunities than Aldama) to reflect on their purpose.

Chapter 5, “Drum Lesson,” offers tuition in *batá* technique and flow, as well as insights to carry students through the years required to become proficient. As a sworn *batá* drummer, I appreciated Vaughan’s homage to patience: “understanding and enlightenment ... follow initial bewilderment” (p. 113). Learning some things and remembering others, I enjoyed Aldama’s gems of insight, such as the technique of borrowing or quoting specific rhythmic phrases from Eleguá, Ogun, Obatalá, and other *orichas* within improvised sections of Yemayá and Changó. The mp3 audio files that accompany the book, easily downloaded from the Indiana University Press website, are useful for illustrating these points.

Chapter 6 and the conclusion consider the current direction of *batá* drumming inside and outside Cuba. Aldama discusses the qualities he seeks in students: “I’ll teach those who deserve it. But not just any and everybody. There are many who play *batá* and I pay them no attention, because they don’t love it. They see it like a slave master sees slaves as an object ... They could be nice people, but they will never really have it” (p. 142). Readers—practitioners especially—will again find themselves reflecting on what it is that draws them to the *batá* drums and why.

Those with some experience of Afro-Cuban Santería will feel comfortable with Aldama’s testimony, which is peppered with vernacular terms and references. Readers without prior exposure may feel challenged at times, but if they are sincerely interested in *batá* drumming, feeling challenged will be nothing

new. Vaughan and Aldama are well suited as coauthors: one is young and hungry; the other is mature and content to see the *batá* legacy passed on. Anyone taking the journey alongside them, whether just setting out on the drummer's path or seeking to reconnect with humanity and "home," will find this book to be an indispensable guide.

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Mette Louise Berg

Diasporic Generations: Memory, Politics, and Nation among Cubans in Spain. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011. x + 213 pp. (Cloth US\$ 70.00)

Mette Louise Berg's *Diasporic Generations* offers a historically grounded and well-documented ethnographic study of Cubans living in Spain. The book's subtitle refers to a contested terrain in which all three terms—"memory, politics, and nation"—are contingent and contextual, expressed and interpreted in diverse ways within the individual stories of Berg's informants. Thus, through its sensitive analysis of the narratives of Cubans in Spain and their families and friends back in Cuba, the text unravels conflicting memories, contrasting political experiences, and different understandings of nation and belonging. In so doing, it challenges the notion of diaspora as representing an ethnic "community" connected through shared experience and links to a common homeland. Rather, by tracing the stories of different "generations" of diasporic Cubans, the text points to the "multiplicity of diasporic experiences" (p. 10) and the importance of "grounding diasporic subjects historically" (p. 11). In comparison to the culturally and politically visible Miami-based Cuban diaspora, the book reveals how Cubans in Spain represent a fragmented and diverse group, characterized by conflicting memories and experiences of both homeland and living in "diaspora."

Berg adopts the concept of generation to distinguish between the various "historically situated trajectories" (p. 40) of the Cubans in her study. These diverse trajectories, she argues, gave rise to distinct "modes of remembering" (p. 40) and divergent transnational practices and relations to homeland. Rather than biological age or type of migrant—factors typically used by migration scholars to categorize migrants—Berg suggests that "generation" offers a more useful way of conceptualizing the experiences of Cuban migrants with regard to both their departure from Cuba and their arrival in Spain. Since the book traces the complex formation of the Cuban diaspora in Spain from the 1960s to the early 2000s—a period marked by profound social and political changes in both Spain and Cuba—Berg makes the crucial point that over the years these different "generations" departed from a very different Cuba, but also arrived in a very different Spain (p. 165). While Spain saw the transition from dictatorship to democracy in 1975, Cuba experienced the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, and the gradual relaxing of its economic and migratory policies. A generational approach, it is argued, allows for a deeper analysis of the "culturally and historically specific" (p. 8) subjectivities and memories of diasporic subjects.

Mindful of the potential overlaps between them, Berg thus usefully divides the Cuban "community" in Spain into three "generations": the "Exiles," the

"Children of the Revolution," and the "Migrants." Each "generation" is distinguished from the others by the circumstances in which they left Cuba and arrived in Spain, which shape their diasporic experiences and memories. The Exiles, many of whom were effectively return migrants or descendants of Spanish émigrés, were predominantly white, middle-class people who left Cuba soon after the revolution and regarded themselves as political exiles. Berg suggests that what was striking was the Exiles' disinterest in contemporary Cuba. They had no aspiration to return there and it was kept alive only in their memories. The memories of the Children of the Revolution, predominantly intellectuals who arrived in the 1990s, were shaped by their experiences of communism and revolutionary Cuba. Having become alienated in Cuba they, unlike the Exiles, also felt alienated in Spain and embraced "cosmopolitanism" (p. 117). Finally, the Migrants, many of whom came from the poorer provinces as opposed to Havana, emigrated more recently in the context of greater migratory freedom from Cuba but a more precarious migration situation in Spain. Unlike the previous generations, they defined themselves as economic migrants, maintaining much closer contact with their families back in Cuba.

While Chapter 2 provides readers with important social and political background, the following three chapters draw mainly on in-depth interviews collected during Berg's extensive ethnographic fieldwork—primarily in Madrid, but also in Barcelona, Havana, and Miami. By juxtaposing the political and historical contexts with migrants' narratives, the book teases out some of the ways the personal and political become closely intertwined in the diasporic imaginations of Cubans in Spain. This interweaving of the personal and the political is also revealed in Berg's thoughtful reflections on her own positionality during her interactions with her informants and the hostility she faced from those who believed she was working for the CIA or the Cuban government.

The final chapter of the book, "Gender, Diaspora, and the Body," draws out some of the "continuities and disjunctures" (p. 23) within the stories of each "generation," with a particular focus on narratives of the body. It points to the way the historical and political contexts overlap with migrants' own subjectivities, shaped by factors such as race, gender, class, and stage in the life cycle. Yet the subsections of this chapter are put together in a somewhat fragmented way, jumping between the personal and the political, as opposed to subtly tying them together, as is so successfully done in previous chapters. Despite this minor drawback, it contains some fascinating points including, importantly, a comparison of identity discourses among Cubans in Spain and the Miami-based diaspora.

The journalist, poet, and writer José Martí is described as a figure whose legacy is claimed by all: “a proto-socialist for the government, a conservative nationalist for Exile groups and an early postmodern thinker for Cuban-American academics” (p. 49). Paralleling the conflicting “versions” of Martí in Cuba and beyond, the stories in this book reveal starkly conflicting “versions” of Cuba, imagined and re-created from afar. As well as providing a unique and fascinating case study of Cubans in Spain, *Diasporic generations* makes a highly significant contribution to the study of diasporas through its insights into the complex workings of memory and the way these intersect with politics, history, and individual subjectivities.

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Martin Holbraad

Truth in Motion: The Recursive Anthropology of Cuban Divination. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. xxiii + 320 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.00)

Martin Holbraad's challenging and often mind-bending study of Cuban Ifá practice is not your *padrino's* Ifá manual. Nor is it a typical ethnographic account of Cuban Ifá, if such a project is construed, as it usually is, to be an attempt to represent Ifá practice in anthropological terms. Holbraad proposes the inverse project of reading anthropological theory through the ontological lens of Ifá divination—what he calls “recursive anthropology.”

He begins by questioning the goals of anthropology as “representation” and instead proposing to peer back through the other end of the telescope, using the “ethnographic object” of Ifá to focus analytical attention on the way anthropologists go about making sense of and discovering truth in our ethnographic endeavors. He asks: what happens if we accept Cuban babalawos' claims to produce truth through their manipulations of palm nuts and *aché*, taken to mean both powder and power? A recursive anthropology, he suggests, would refigure the notion of truth—anthropological truth—away from what he shows to be a deeply problematic project of “representing alterity.” In the place of representational truth-propositions he suggests a motile and open-ended truth-making through inventive definition, or “infinition.”

Holbraad starts with the premise that Cuban babalawos approach Ifá divination as infallible truth in a way incommensurable with anthropologists' commonsense notions of truth as (un)falsifiable propositions. Such ethnographic encounters with incommensurability drive the anthropological construction of alterity, reducing Others' understandings of the world either to belief (e.g. “magical thinking”) or to some half-baked notion of “alternate rationalities” of the sort no longer called “primitive mentalities,” at least not out loud. The problem, he argues, is not a matter of logic but of ontology, and specifically of how we understand truth. With meticulous precision and an impressive mobilization of Western analytic philosophy and classic anthropological theory, Holbraad develops an account of non-representational truth-as-a-verb through motile recombinations of truth-trajectories that *create* new entities through infinition: *making*, rather than *defining*, world and subject. Holbraad's “motile” ontology of truth-making might, after all, approach the ontographic premises of Ifá “papers” and manuals of the sort your *padrino* jealously studies to develop his practice.

This is not your advisor's ethnographic monograph either, unless perchance your advisor is Marilyn Strathern or Roy Wagner, two of Holbraad's major interlocutors in the text. (Caroline Humphrey was his advisor, for those who share

babalawos' penchant for tracking ritual lineages.) What he takes from them and from Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (and yes, Bruno Latour too, looking back to E.E. Evans-Pritchard) is an abiding metatheoretical project of questioning the production of anthropological knowledge. These scholars have variously engaged in reflexive examination of anthropology, including its very "invention of culture" (as Wagner would have it). Viveiros de Castro (2002), for example, provides a starting point for Holbraad in his critique of the idea that anthropologists should pursue the question of "belief"; instead we should be interested in what Others' understandings of the world tell us about *their* experiences and ontologies and, by extension, Holbraad argues, our *own* (pp. 49–52).

Holbraad's project is therefore not "reflexive" in the sense of doing the ethnography (or ethnohistory) of scholarship, and as such it does not directly engage the concerns of scholars such as Lee Baker, Stefania Capone, Lorand Matory, Stephan Palmié, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, or Brackette Williams. Instead he builds his subtle but powerful argument as philosophers do, by taking readers through a series of *reductio ad absurdum* exercises to show the inadequacy of mainstream representationist theories of truth. In tone and approach, his text instead resonates with natural language philosophy (e.g., Hallen 2000). He is less than convincing in positioning his project as fundamentally anthropological rather than philosophical, to "demonstrate that anthropology is equipped to advance its own answers to its own questions in its own way, by showing, recursively, how this can be done" (p. xx).

Fair enough, but as audaciously contemporary as Holbraad's metatheoretical concerns are, there is something rather old-fashioned, let us say, about a style of argumentation that reduces what we all know to be considerable ethnographic messiness to normative statements about what babalawos do, and why, in which solitary, largely decontextualized ethnographic examples are made to stand for sweeping generalities, and historical context is sidelined as irrelevant. (Here is where scholarship exemplified by those listed above might deserve more than a cursory nod.)

This is not a book for those seeking an introductory ethnography of Ifá in Cuba, nor answers to questions about who babalawos are, who consults them (beyond "mostly women"), nor how Ifá divinations matter in the Cuban context in any but the broadest ontological terms of being taken to be indubitably true by some (but not all) Cubans. Indeed, just *how* the incommensurable ontologies of divinatory infinity and skeptical representationalism co-occur would be an excellent follow-up project of "ontography." Especially jarring to my own obsessions as a linguistic anthropologist, Holbraad gives only cursory attention to what we know about the workings of language, meaning that his text is not informed by post-1970 developments in semiotics or performativity

theory that also critique the representationalist accounts of structuralism and speech act theory. And yet, caveats aside and skeptical thinking cap firmly in place, this is a compelling and important read.

The book accomplishes what it does set out as its aim, which is more ambitious than speaking to other Caribbeanists or scholars of the Black Atlantic. In rigorously pursuing our analytical aporia, Holbraad's work will be indispensable to those of us who seek to understand the "truth" of these locales.

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Vanessa K. Valdés (ed.)

The Future is Now: A New Look at African Diaspora Studies. Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2012. viii + 223 pp. (Cloth US\$59.99)

The title of this “new” collection of essays on the African diaspora promises innovative inquiry—that is, a welcome and still needed correction to a field that remains mostly Anglocentric. Literary scholars and to a lesser degree historians have traditionally treated the forcible displacement of Africans to the Americas, and the resulting expressive culture, as Anglophone phenomena. I can only applaud work that celebrates non-Anglophone cultural production from multiple geographical locations, and indeed publishes work in languages other than English, in this case Haitian Creole (“Invocation”) and Spanish (“El arte como resistencia: Lo afropuertorriqueño” and “Afirmación étnica y estética en la ensayística y poética de Jorge Artel”). Volume editor Vanessa Valdés’s piece on Afro-Brazilian literature is a further reminder of the inductive and still frequently silenced role of the Iberian powers in the African diaspora commencing in the early modern period.

Thus it was disconcerting to discover that Valdés has also edited a second book based on the same set of papers, originally presented at a 2010 conference at City College (“Let Spirit Speak! Cultural Journeys through the African Diaspora”). The title of that book, which was published by SUNY Press earlier in 2012, is the same as the conference title. The contents of the two publications are troublingly similar. Of the twelve sections in *The Future is Now* (Introduction, Invocation, nine chapters, Conclusion), five overlap significantly with those in *Let Spirit Speak*. Gina Athena Ulysse’s “Invocation” opens both volumes. Sophie Saint Juste’s study of the Haitian film *Des hommes et des dieux* appears in Chapter 1 of *Future* and Chapter 14 of *Spirit*. Heather Shirey’s discussion of Campos-Pons’s *My Mother Told Me I Am Chinese* series is Chapter 2 of *Future* and Chapter 7 of *Spirit*. Luisa García-Conde’s exploration of Jorge Artel’s poetry appears in Chapter 4 of *Future* and Chapter 12 of *Spirit*. Ashley David’s discussion of *The Salt Eaters* is Chapter 8 in both volumes.

While it is in the nature of academic research to revisit, rewrite, even republish one’s earlier work, protocol demands that readers be alerted to these revisiting, accompanied by publication details, either in the form of a footnote or in the acknowledgements. This has not been done in *The Future is Now*. Although the introduction mentions the 2010 conference from which the essays emerged and although there are the brief references to the SUNY volume (on the back cover and the Contributors’ section), nowhere are readers advised of the existence of another publication of the material. This serious breach of scholarly protocol is compounded by the frankly shoddy editing. The errors

are too numerous to list here, but the most egregious is the lack of a “works cited” section in Katya Isayev’s essay, “Decolonizing the Banjo: Cultural Memory and a (Re)representation of Slave Performance 1700s–1863.” This is a pity since, despite editing flaws, this piece is one of the strongest in the collection.

With the above caveats in mind, I return to my first comments in praise of the volume’s presentation of material that problematizes orthodox scholarship on the African diaspora as a phenomenon (and patrimony) of the English-speaking world. Essays such as Heather Shirey’s “Meticulous Production and the Embodiment of History: María Magdalena Campos-Pons’s *My Mother Told Me I Am Chinese* series” vex received notions of the African diaspora as being circumscribed to the transatlantic space linking England to Anglophone North America. As noted earlier, not the least strength of *The Future is Now* is its retelling of that scattering in languages other than English. Another not inconsequential result of this strategy is the destabilization of the term America. References to “el continente Americano” (p. 45) remind readers that “America” can be mediated and articulated in ways other than English and with different meanings (América, americano, americana). The bilingual inclusion of Gina Athena Ulysse’s “Invocation” in Haitian Creole and English is a fitting curtain raiser for the volume’s commitment to a plurigeographical, plurilingual, and pluricultural scope. The final (excellent) essay, Brendan Wattenberg’s “Performing the Archive: Photography and the Africana World,” not only reminds us of the vast reach of the diaspora by taking us from Africa to Europe and to the United States; it also promotes a vision of Afrodiasporic cultural production that is as provocative (in Samuel Fosso’s “Self-Portrait” as Angela Davis) as it is richly referential (in Barthélémy Toguo’s “Transit” series). Throughout, Wattenberg also persuasively transforms “the archive” from static concept to performative “theatricality.” Much like *hibridez*/hybridity in María Elba Torres-Muñoz’s discussion of Afro-Puerto Rican art, the archive is here revealed to be fixed object as well as fluid strategy, both noun and verb.

Despite ending on a strong note, Valdés’s concluding call for “the development of new lines of inquiry” (p. 219) into the African diaspora prompts this reader to reflect on the need for *previous* lines of inquiry to have been acknowledged first.

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Christine Chivallon

The Black Diaspora of the Americas: Experiences and Theories out of the Caribbean.

Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011. xlv + 231 pp. (Paper US\$ 30.00)

This is a curious book. It was originally published in 2004, in French, as an introduction to the vibrant arena of Anglophone scholarship on diaspora and the Afro-Atlantic experience for a Francophone audience, which explains why it reads as an extended review of literature that most readers of this journal will find familiar. It would be a useful text for undergraduate teaching or preliminary graduate work, since it canvasses a wide range of anthropological and historiographical work with a constructively critical eye within the space of 200 pages.

Yet for scholars familiar with the materials Chivallon so valiantly reviews, the book seems anticlimactic, concluding that the Black Diaspora is a paradox of unity-in-diversity which challenges our powers of conceptualization. This by-now self-evident truism in Anglophone scholarship is apparently big news in France, where any concern with diaspora remains fixated on the “classical” Jewish model, making the Afro-Atlantic experience unthinkable in such terms. And although Chivallon notes that she began doing research on Caribbean societies in the mid-1980s, we learn little of her empirical work, which accentuates the review-like character of her text.

Part I deals with the historical sociology of slavery and colonialism in the Americas, as well as postabolition transformations of the nineteenth century, and seeks to highlight structural continuities between colonial and postcolonial experiences of blacks, which are recontextualized in the twentieth century with newer waves of migration and the circulation of both people and ideas throughout the Atlantic sphere. Her discussion is appropriately built on the critical insight that colonial slavery in the Americas figures as the disavowed ground zero for the founding of (European) modernity.

Part II operates in a different register, comparing and contrasting three dominant theorizations of the African Diaspora—referred to as the continuity, creolization, and alienation theses—which are usefully interrogated not as pure types, but in conversation with one another. Chivallon productively explicates these theories in relation to one issue—the “problem” of African-American family structure—by drawing on demographic work suggesting that the so-called matrifocal family is less common than its centrality in (older) scholarship suggests, demonstrating how ideological “theory” is, and arguing for less polemical analysis not only in relation to the “elusive object” of Afro-Caribbean familial forms, but also more broadly in relation to “diaspora.”

Part III reviews the deep genealogical roots of Black Nationalism and Pan-

Africanism as sociopolitical dynamics crosscutting the Afro-Atlantic experience in multifarious ways, excavating how “ancestral land” operates as a resource for cultural reimagination. Chivallon synthesizes the history of Rastafari in order to develop her argument about the Black Diaspora as an *a-centered community*, comprising “a set of non-hierarchical collective orientations, a plural culture devoid of centrality in its manner of signifying belonging” (p. 127)—“an accumulation of community orientations which exclude a hard-core identity” (p. 196). She emphasizes the absence of any Black Atlantic metanarrative, concluding that the notion of an African Diaspora nonetheless coheres based on the deeply recessive experience of “the slave trade as a founding event” (the title of Chapter 2), granting black Americans (in the widest sense of the term) “an intimate knowledge of the violence exercised by the other” (p. 202).

Chivallon raises big questions and touches on important debates. However, her perspective does not surpass the 1980s—making it feel out of touch for anyone with recent experience in the Caribbean. Nor am I persuaded by “a-centered community” as the least common denominator for such a complex category as the Black Diaspora. For one thing, it casts blackness in idealized oppositional terms and thereby overlooks hierarchical relations among blacks, from Candomblé to the bourgeoisie. Her discussion of Rastafari similarly sidesteps the problem of sexism within the faith that has received such critical recent attention. This is ironic given that Chivallon is at such pains early on to emphasize the reality of domination, as well as her familiarity with the essentialist ins and outs of Black Nationalist projects. I would have preferred that she lean more on Bastide’s own, more polythetic formulation, which approaches Afro-Atlantic cultural history in terms of two overlapping, yet non-synonymous registers: the experience of “black” people of sub-Saharan descent in the Americas whether or not it involves African culture, *per se*, and the routes and transplanted roots of “African” cultural forms whether or not tethered to black people.

For me, the most valuable aspect of Chivallon’s study concerns her observations about the differing conceptual universe of Francophone scholarship. She begins by noting that the concept of diaspora as applied to Black Atlantic experience is next to unthinkable in French inquiry, that postmodernism is less influential in French theory, and that whatever interest there is in diaspora is still very much preoccupied by Jewish experience. She attributes this state of affairs—rightly, I think—not only to French amnesia about the constitutive role of slavery and colonialism in metropolitan national “development,” but also the understandably telescoped metropolitan focus on the French West Indian experience, in which former colonies became overseas departments scaffolded by the political economy of the redistributive, welfare state,

thus fostering a greater relative sense of “assimilation” vis-à-vis Frenchness, as compared with other postcolonial Caribbean nations, as well as West Indian migrant experience in other metropolises. Though she does not quite connect the dots in this manner, Chivallon’s own discussion of the Afro-Franco-Atlantic experience also helps account for the peculiar persisting popularity of the alienation thesis, as well as the anemic reception of Frantz Fanon’s seminal work, in French scholarship and public culture.

Though I am not reviewing the original French version of this book, I would be more enthusiastic about it than the English translation, since the impetus for the original in relation to its target audience gives Chivallon’s text more traction and makes it all the more meaningful. If the original successfully introduces French readers to the historical anthropology of the Atlantic World pursued so fascinatingly and rigorously in Anglophone scholarship, then it will have nobly served its purpose.

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Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O'Toole & Ben Vinson (eds.)

Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012. 262 pp. (Cloth US\$50.00)

This volume reflects the dialogue that has been going on in the past two decades between historians of the Atlantic world, the African diaspora, and Latin America. It aims to contribute to Afro-Latin American history and to the history of the African diaspora by clearly synthesizing the potential and challenges ahead for scholars interested in these two fields. For that reason, the editors' task has been to produce a text that highlights the links between the two fields and at the same time provides evidence of the productive relationship between them. *Africans to Spanish America* can and should be read both by scholars specializing in Afro-Latin America and those specializing in the African diaspora. The first will appreciate the methodological and epistemological value of using the African diaspora paradigm to study and write about Spanish American history. The latter will recognize the constructive view of lesser known areas of Spanish America as constitutive of African diasporic history in the Atlantic world.

A clear introductory chapter by editors Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O'Toole, and Ben Vinson opens the book with the proposal that Afro-Latin American history has entered a new "wave," or phase, in which the foundational questions about the "black presence" in Latin America are being transformed. This historiographical essay reinterprets the trajectory of studies about slavery, freedom, race, and nation in Latin America. Most importantly, it offers valuable leads into the future. Highlighting the need for further social historical research centered on the study of Africans and their descendants, it invites historians to go beyond the national and regional to create new narratives through the diasporic framework.

The book brings together essays by nine scholars whose work illustrates the possibilities of such a critical approach. And while studies about Brazil are abundant since the mid-twentieth century, this collection showcases Afro-Latin American history in areas that are less identified with the subject of slavery and blackness such as Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru.

In the first part, Leo Garofalo's essay on Afro-Iberians complicates our sense of the diaspora's unidirectionality and suggests that Africans are among the agents of European colonialism across the Atlantic Ocean. Trey Proctor and Rachel O'Toole study the development of African diasporic ethnicities in the context of the Americas. These three essays focus on Spanish colonialism before 1700, elegantly interrogating sources such as marriage records and wills to reveal the vitality, and the constructedness, of African diasporic identities.

The book's second part concentrates on the significance of Christianity for people of African descent, a theme of longstanding importance in Afro-Latin American history. The essays by Charles Beatty-Medina, Joan Bristol, and Nancy van Deusen clearly show how Africans in Spanish America participated in the religion of the empire in their own terms. The emphasis in these chapters on black politics in the context of empire is perhaps the best evidence that the African diaspora lens has productively transformed the study of religion in Spanish America by transcending the question of resistance.

In the book's final part, Karen Morrison and Michele Reid-Vazquez write about Cuba in the nineteenth century. Reid-Vazquez demonstrates the importance of taking gender seriously in order to understand how racism and colonialism functioned and changed in the Atlantic world. Morrison disputes a trope that dominates Latin American history: whitening. And Herbert Klein's concluding chapter maps out an agenda for future studies, arguing that we still need to fill a crucial void in the study of free blacks, and explaining why doing so promises to reveal much about the differences in diasporic experiences across the Americas.

Taking Klein's concluding remarks as an invitation, we should not forget that the African diaspora is necessarily a comparative field of study. As a programmatic proposal this book validates the search for new lines of inquiry and will inspire collaboration across geographical regions. Therefore, future research could move beyond the examination of particular cases or examples to take on larger questions about the relationships between varying slave regimes and postemancipation societies in the Americas. Along with Klein's suggestion that we need to explore more deeply the histories of free blacks in the continent, another urgent theme for future research is the process of abolition of slavery—still an unexplored gap between the two moments privileged by the current historiography, as evidenced by this book itself.

Among the book's contributions to the historiography of the African diaspora are the studies by O'Toole, Garofalo, and Beatty-Medina, which provide much-needed evidence and analysis of the lives of people of African descent who were part of an early diaspora that was central to Spanish colonialism from the Iberian peninsula into the Pacific areas of South America. Aside from "expanding" diasporic history geographically, *Africans to Spanish America* also reminds us that between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries the experiences of people of African descent in Spanish America were more varied than the paradigmatic plantation-centered historiography of the Caribbean and Brazil has implied.

In terms of Afro-Latin American history, or Latin American history more generally, this innovative volume does not simply contest earlier problems in

the field but actually moves forward into the critical implications of writing the history of Latin America from the African perspective. In this sense Karen Morrison's piece stands out. Her creative research strategy has undone the central assumption about nineteenth-century nation formation in the region, which presumed that individuals across Latin America were largely aligned with the hegemonic value of whitening fashioned by governments and national elites. Her move to challenge the absolute prevalence of this principle by centering on the family, instead of the traditional focus on the nation and individuals, exemplifies the promise of reconsidering longstanding assumptions and implicit values to effectively rewrite Latin American history through the diasporic lens.

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Rosanne Kanhai (ed.)

Bindi: The Multifaceted Lives of Indo-Caribbean Women. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. vi + 251 pp. (Paper US\$ 40.00)

Bindi is the sequel to Rosanne Kanhai's 1999 edited volume, "*Matikor*": *The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*.¹ In her introduction to that groundbreaking collection, Kanhai (1999: xii) wrote that "Indo-Caribbean women remain a token presence in the predominantly Afro-Caribbean feminist discourse." In this new book Kanhai focuses on "the multifaceted ways in which Indo-Caribbean women of different religious backgrounds have shaped their lives and come to understand themselves" (p. 3) and argues that the *bindi*, the traditional round dot on a Hindu woman's forehead, has become an international fashion accessory. She sees this trend "as indicative of the power of the bindi to escape cultural boundaries and to effectively belong to all women ... The contemporary bindi carries a hint of exoticism but is not a symbol of otherness" (p. 2). Kanhai views the *bindi* as a symbol of hybridization and personalization: "Every woman on every occasion designs her own bindi, and after each wearing it is washed away" (p. 7). The *bindi*, then, is the symbol of inner strengths of Indo-Caribbean women who are confidently facing global opportunities and challenges, without being restricted by demands of ethnic loyalty.

While Kanhai included only Indo-Caribbean women in "*Matikor*," she invited men and women of different ethnic backgrounds for *Bindi*. She argues that in slightly more than a decade things have changed so much that "Indo-Caribbean women no longer need a private space in which to find their voices" (p. 4). One wishes that either she or the contributors had elaborated on the how and why of these important transformations in such a short period of time. Did the changes take place because Indo-Caribbean women benefited from the strides made by Caribbean feminism? One probable agent for change has been education: the participation of Caribbean women in secondary and tertiary education has increased, but this is touched upon only lightly in *Bindi*.

Another issue is whether the apparent emancipation is restricted to the Anglophone Caribbean, or even more specifically Trinidad. Most work on Indo-Caribbean women has centered on Trinidad and this is reflected in *Bindi*. Eight of the nine contributions are on this island, making the word Indo-Caribbean

1 *Matikor* is an exclusively female celebration of female sexuality which takes place on the eve of a Hindu wedding (Kanhai 1999: xi).

in the subtitle a hyperbole. In this sense, *Bindi* is a less satisfactory book than *Matikor*,² as the latter included more in-depth perspectives on Guyana and Suriname.

The first of the book's three sections, "Religion in a Global Context," includes chapters on women in the *Ramayana* tradition and on marriage and dowry in the Indo-Muslim community. Sherry Ann Singh focuses on the crucial role of women in the re-enactment of the *Ramayana*, thus subverting gender roles and challenging patriarchal conventions. The interesting cases lack context (which is given in later chapters by other authors) and Singh neither explains nor elaborates on the changes in the *Ramayana* tradition in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. She touches on fascinating developments such as the initiation in 1943 of a non-Brahmin woman, Deokie Devi, as a pundit, but doesn't give us the reactions to this remarkable event. Unfortunately such lack of context and depth is symptomatic of most of the book.

Section II, "Constructing Self," is comprised of personal narratives on rural Indo-Trinidadian women in the domestic sphere that reflect on the ways in which some young Indo-Trinidadian women perceive their gender and ethnic identity. In quite possibly the best chapter of the book, Gabrielle Jamela Hosein describes her participation in an Indo-Trinidadian beauty contest, Ms Mastana Bahar, describing it as part of her process of analyzing the dynamic between gender expectations, performance, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, morality, authenticity, and identity in the late twentieth century. This exciting combination of personal experience and theory leads Hosein to the conclusion that "Not only have I stopped trying to be an 'appropriate Indian girl' and to manage ethnic and gender expectations. I have stopped maintaining a claim to a racialized, sexualized, feminized self" (p. 155).

The last section, "Survival and Creativity," includes four uneven contributions—one on traditional midwives, one on the Guyanese artist Bernadette Persaud, and two on women's writing. In the essay on hybridity, identity, and resistance in Indo-Caribbean women's writing by Anita Baksh, a more pan-Caribbean perspective would have helped to sharpen the analysis. As I read this essay, Indo-Surinamese author Bea Vianen immediately came to mind. It would have been interesting to include Suriname's first woman novelist and her work in this analysis. Her debut *Sarnami, hai* ("Suriname, I am"), published by a major Dutch publisher in 1969, is a classic of Suriname's literature.² Hilda

2 Sarnami is the East Indian, or Hindustani, name for Suriname as well as the language of the Hindustani. According to the Suriname 2004 census, Sarnami is the first language of 15.8 percent of the households.

van Neck-Yoder (1981, 2001) has published, in English, a couple of articles discussing Vianen and her four novels. A special 1998 issue of the journal *Callaloo* devoted to Dutch Caribbean literature included an English translation of a section of *Sarnami, hai*. It centers on the coming of age in colonial Suriname of a Hindustani whose grandparents were indentured laborers. The protagonist, Sita, determined to escape the abuse that ruined the lives of her mother and grandmother, sets out for the Netherlands to study biology, leaving behind her young son. Emancipation carries a heavy price.

Bindi focuses on the lives of Indo-Caribbean women in Trinidad. The volume doesn't move into the twenty-first century in which new social media and cheaper means of communication have changed the Caribbean connections with the diaspora in North America and Europe and with the ancestral homelands. Maybe this is a topic for a third volume, covering Indo-Caribbean women from the entire region.

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Miranda Frances Spieler

Empire and Underworld: Captivity in French Guiana. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011. x + 284 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

The shelf for English-language books on French Guiana remains embarrassingly bare. Although new works do appear regularly in French, few range far beyond the most local field of vision, let alone venture to engage in broader theoretical debates. The appearance of a significant historical work in English devoted to the region thus gives cause for some celebration. The fact that its author makes major claims about the significance of French practices of deportation for legal history combines this gift with a larger provocation, one that should interest readers well beyond the Caribbean.

In *Empire and Underworld* Miranda Spieler follows Marc Bloch's concept of the "unwritten trace" to recast French Guiana's landscape such that "everything including primary forest, secondary forest, and abandoned lots on the edge of Cayenne should count as elements of a manmade world and not a world that man failed to constitute" (p. 4). For analytical purposes she then reorients this terrain out of South America and into France, following the thread of law to compensate for the fragmentary state of archives and a lack of other institutions. Her goal is both to "fold the human subject back into the narrative of Guiana's colonial past" and forward a vision of history that opposes that of colonialism and "technocratic rationality" (p. 5). With this intriguing and ambitious aim, Spieler positions her account as a corrective to Hannah Arendt's strict framing of legal order, and a modification of Michel Foucault's famous thesis connecting the birth of the prison to the rise of disciplinary power. Instead, she portrays the colonial frontier of Guiana as the legal frontline in twin internal wars conducted by the French state, one against liberated slaves and the other against liberated convicts. Turning to Carl Schmitt and (partly) Giorgio Agamben, she stresses the prolific tensions between legal norms and a state of exception. In an era marked by insurrection, revolution, dictatorships, and reactionary violence, emergency structures proliferated. The prison, she suggests, was "among the first areas of the state to go off the rails" (p. 16).

After this opening theoretical salvo, the text begins a slow march through the details of potential confirmation. The bulk of *Empire and Underworld* rests on meticulous readings of primary sources—the painstaking undergrowth of traditional history. Spieler has clearly done an impressive amount of research, and her footnotes brim with documents. Many of the stories she recounts are rich and intriguing. In keeping with the genre of evidence they are also fragmentary; one gets glimpses of past lives, but rarely a full biography. To make her analytic case she therefore emphasizes the surviving skeleton of

official decrees and the social body they suggest. Here she finds clues of a dark crime Rousseau might recognize: in French Guiana civilization itself “turned a populous forest into a wilderness” (p. 223).

The book’s eight chapters focus on the period between the French Revolution and the advent of the Third Republic. True to Spieler’s conceptual geography they move back and forth between developments in the French metropole and the particularities of its Guiana colony. In her account the Revolution produced not only seeds of liberty, but also new forms of domination and enclosure for undesirable elements. The pre-Revolutionary punishment of “civil death” transformed into legal mechanisms to define counterrevolutionary émigrés as fugitives who remained internal enemies. Although efforts to exile undesirables to Guiana were relatively minor in terms of numbers, she sees them as confirmation that the colonies functioned as “zones of legal oddity” (p. 38). Similarly she reads the painful story of the Revolution’s abortive abolition of slavery as evidence of Jacobin complicity in maintaining this distinction. New structures of law limited the actual freedom of the newly liberated, such that even the short-lived doctrine of shared free soil meant little. Over subsequent decades in France, the naval prison known as the *bagne* likewise expanded restrictions for ex-convicts, regulating their movements and increasing their surveillance. When the institution shifted overseas in the middle of the nineteenth century, it soon stripped both inmates and survivors of civil and political rights. Although the British example of Australia may have inspired the French, Spieler rejects the notion that it served as any true model for the French penal colony in terms of either law or administration. Rather, she sees the violent conquest of Algeria as providing the essential legal point of reference. A parade of administrators in French Guiana sought to enclose ex-convicts in permanent “militarized zones of punishment” (p. 161) to the extent that “the prison devoured the world” (p. 192). The real story of captivity and death in the penal colony is not one of failure, she suggests, but rather pernicious design.

Empire and Underworld proves a rewarding, if sometimes dense read. Spieler’s original analysis merits attention, usefully complicating liberal accounts of law as well as French colonial history. She clearly embraces this revisionist role, given that most of the secondary sources she cites appear for the purpose of refutation or correction. Nonetheless, from the perspective of anthropology the work ultimately appears narrow in its relentless emphasis on law and indeed on France itself. Only rarely do other empires or colonies hove into view; even the closest Dutch and Portuguese neighbors have but cameo roles. The perspective remains that of French Guiana’s sparse coastal settlements, not those—albeit fewer still—who might see the forest as home. Although one group of Maroons (the Boni/Aluku) joins the starring cast of the excluded, it is

due to their place in French legal schemes. Law defines the landscape and consequences reveal intentions. The penal colony's remarkable death rate requires no further explanation, and medical or agricultural debates play at best a secondary role in its history. By emphasizing intention and rejecting failure so single-mindedly, Spieler's provocative thesis risks the form of Whig inevitability that concerns historians of science. Her initial conceit likewise encloses all non-human elements into an entirely human universe, revolving around Europe. This is very much *French* Guiana, viewed from Paris and not through the trees. In the absence of other points of reference, this counternarrative from the archive oddly mirrors the empire it opposes. One can only agree with the author herself: "Had the people spoken, this would be a different book" (p. 11).

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Peter Clegg & David Killingray (eds.)

The Non-Independent Territories of the Caribbean and Pacific: Continuity or Change?

London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 2012. xix + 206 pp. (Paper US\$30.00)

Some 15 percent of all Caribbean citizens live in nonsovereign territories. While in some quarters there is still a tendency to think of these remnants of empire as outdated anomalies, it makes more sense to view these “not yet” fully decolonized places as a lasting part of the political landscape of the Caribbean. Transitions toward full independence are nowhere in the making. Large majorities in all non-sovereign Caribbean territories are firmly opposed to it, and all metropolitan powers accept that they cannot unilaterally impose a transfer of sovereignty—with this difference that the British and Dutch are still in the region because much to their regret they could not find a way out, while American and French politicians have long felt that a continuation of their presence in the Caribbean served their own interests as well.

There are various constitutional arrangements for nonsovereign territories. Full integration into the metropolitan polity, the model of the French *départements d'outre-mer*, is one option. Another model is a high level of local autonomy exercised within a larger constitutional framework in which ultimately the metropolis has the last word; this is the case for Puerto Rico, Curaçao, Aruba, and “Dutch” St. Maarten. Finally, there are non-self-governing territories, most of these British Overseas Territories, but also the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Not coincidentally, most of these territories are islands, small in both size and population. With the exception of French Guiana (Guyane), all Caribbean nonsovereign territories are islands—in fact, Guyane has historically functioned very much in isolation from the South American mainland on which it is located, as if its coastal strip was an island looking outward mainly to continental France. Both small-scale and geographical isolation entail a range of vulnerabilities for these territories, whether they are located in the Caribbean, the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, or even at the edge of Europe (Gibraltar). Still, average standard of living in these “not yet” fully decolonized places is far above the general regional standards precisely because of the direct or indirect advantages of their constitutional status. Hence the general lack of interest in full independence.

Over the past decade or so, several monographs and a number of edited books have been published on these “confetti of empire” (e.g., Adler-Niessen & Pram Gad 2013, Baldacchino & Milne 2009, Clegg & Pantojas-García 2009, De Jong & Kruijt 2005, Oostindie & Klinkers 2003, Ramos & Rivera 2001). Whatever the differences among these studies, they all tend to focus not on the absence of pro-independence movements, but rather on the tensions between,

on the one hand, the metropolitan urge “to minimize the contingent liabilities” (jargon coined at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office) arising from the enduring postcolonial relationship and, on the other, insular discomfort and at times resentment with the way these relations have been modeled and function.

The Non-Independent Territories of the Caribbean and Pacific is yet another contribution to this field, focusing mainly on the British Overseas Territories (OT's). “British” chapters include a historical overview of British decolonization and the emergence of the remnant category of OT's (by David Killingray), a review of the limited results of reform under New Labour (Peter Clegg), two rather more political contributions on the present situation written by authors close to the present coalition government (Ian Bailey and Ian Hendry), and discussions of offshore finance centering on the British OT's (with Mark Hampton & John Christensen being far more pessimistic than William Vlcek). The book also presents analyses of recent developments in the Dutch and French non-sovereign territories (by Lammert de Jong & Ron van der Veer and Nathalie Mrgudovic, respectively), as well as a discussion of recent changes in EU policies (Paul Sutton), and a general review of “self-governance deficits” (Carlyle Corbin).

In all, the book offers a useful overview of the full range of dilemmas in these postcolonial arrangements of nonsovereignty, though it focuses mainly on governance and economics, leaving the crucial dimensions of migration and transnationalism as well as identity and culture largely neglected. For the uninitiated, the book offers some useful introductions. However, readers with a longer interest in these issues will not find much new here. This is not surprising. Peter Clegg and several of the contributors also wrote essays in the other publications cited above, and there is a lot of overlap among the authors in these various works (the present reviewer included). Perhaps we are coming to a point of diminishing returns; the dilemmas are spelled out time and again, as are the piecemeal reforms, the unresolved challenges, and the lingering conflicts.

The Non-Independent Territories of the Caribbean and Pacific is a useful reminder that none of this is going away by itself and that metropolitan governments should nurture no illusions about it. And yet one would have wanted the editors to dig a bit deeper and to offer a more systematic comparison of the pros and cons of the various models of nonsovereignty that have been adopted, both from a metropolitan perspective and as seen from these various nonsovereign territories. Only Carlyle Corbin attempts to do something like this, in his systematic discussion of democratic deficits in the various models. Not all will share his assumptions, including his apparent doubts about the

sincerity of metropolitan concerns for good governance, nor his implicit confidence that a broadening of the limits of nonsovereignty is desirable. Even so we can appreciate his development of systemic indicators for “Preparedness for Self-Governance” as an invitation to a good debate on the future models of nonsovereignty.

Ironically, whereas Corbin seems particularly interested in broadening the options, editors Clegg and Killingray end the book a few pages later with more sobering and most likely more realistic observations, arguing that a “further extension of autonomy” is unlikely, and that the real task is to make do with “the [various] constitutional systems, which are imperfect compromises between countries and territories with different interests” (p. 196). For them, there is no alternative to “the present efforts of the metropolitan powers to re-engage with their territories” (p. 197). One of the ironies of this late chapter in (post)colonialism, of course, is how often metropolitan governments need to be reminded of lingering responsibilities for which there are few rewards.

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Tony Castanha

The Myth of Indigenous Caribbean Extinction: Continuity and Reclamation in Borikén (Puerto Rico). Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. xvi + 184 pp. (Cloth US\$ 86.00)

The currently held perspective in Puerto Rican historiography regarding the fate of the indigenous societies of the island after the Spanish intrusion assumes their rapid extinction as a result of introduced illnesses and the extreme working conditions to which they were subjected. The unidirectional relationships inserted in this narrative, in which a lack of agency for our indigenous ancestors is assumed, has been institutionalized in the official discourse projected from agencies such as the *Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* through textbooks and other media presented to the people of the island. The view of the indigenous societies of Puerto Rico, which constitute the initial stratum of our culture-historical stratigraphy, as “good” and “peaceful,” is even represented in the ethnonym commonly used to make reference to them—Taíno, meaning “noble.” Thus, the construction of our indigenous ancestry has served to naturalize a condition of coloniality in which our “good-hearted” native people were at the mercy of outsiders who completely destroyed their lifeways and led to their seemingly unavoidable fate.

In an effort to debunk this narrative, Tony Castanha delves into what he calls the “myth” of indigenous extinction in the island and addresses the way the commonly uncritical academic discourse has served to legitimize its premises. With this objective, he relies on several sources of information that have heretofore not been considered in detail: the early Spanish censuses of the island and the oral histories of people who consider themselves to be descendants of the indigenous societies of Puerto Rico. Castanha, who is himself a descendant of the peoples who formed part of the Puerto Rican diaspora in Hawaii that took shape at the beginning of the twentieth century, aims to present a revised history of our indigenous condition from within, as he considers himself to be a *Jibaro*. This provides a reflexive tone to the text in which the different lines of evidence enter into a dialogue that leads him to argue that the indigenous groups of the island never became extinct, but rather were transformed through their interactions with the eventual newcomers into what we are as Puerto Ricans today.

In writing this history of resistance, Castanha revisits information provided on censuses recorded in the island since early in the sixteenth century. He suggests that some of these records, which have served to support the idea of the fast-paced extinction of the indigenous peoples of the island, did not consider many inland areas that might have been inhabited by them until

long after the Spanish invasion of our territories. In this regard, he benefits from previous works conducted by researchers such as Juan M. Delgado and Roberto Martínez Torres, both of whom have long argued for indigenous survival on the island from historical and archaeological perspectives respectively. He further contends that the indigenous people, primarily those of the island interior, developed into the *Jíbaro*, as is evidenced by the cultural and biological (both genetic and phenotypic) continuities observed up to today in Puerto Rico.

Castanha also brings forth the voice of people who consider themselves descendants of the indigenous societies of the island, some of whom are known leaders in the revitalization movements of Puerto Rico. Among the people whose voices resonate in this contribution is that of Oscar Lamourt, a person highly regarded by the indigenous community in modern Puerto Rico because of his writings about linguistics (which are of limited availability) and teachings concerning the origins of ancestral peoples on the island and their ties with those that inhabited Mesoamerican territories, most notably the Maya.

This book represents a strong contribution to the study of issues of cultural engagement and survival in Puerto Rico and elsewhere. It also presents evidence for native continuities in Puerto Rico in aspects such as linguistic and agricultural practices that are worthy of more detailed anthropological attention. It would have benefited from more research in current archaeological literature, which has changed many of the premises upon which traditional thinking about the indigenous inhabitants of Puerto Rico has been erected. One of the main issues that have been underlined in this recent research is the plural social and cultural landscape that has existed in the island since its original discovery by its earliest inhabitants. This multivocality, providing the antecedent condition for modern *Boricua* indigeneities, unfortunately did not permeate the book; it would have been useful for dealing with the myriad modern engagements with such ancestral configurations. As a result, Castanha presents a somewhat essentialist perspective about modern entanglements with our indigenous ancestries in the island.

Despite these issues, *The Myth of Indigenous Caribbean Extinction* presents some important discussions regarding colonization strategies in the early Americas (and perhaps elsewhere), such as the invention of myths and other systematic strategies (primitivism, marginalization, and other downcutting mechanisms) used to obliterate the indigenous presence and thus to facilitate the seizure of lands. It also provides valuable insights into strategies of accommodation and resistance (both passive and active) that were used by our indigenous ancestors, leading to their survival and transformation. As such, the

story of resistance that Castanha presents constitutes an important counterbalance to the myth of indigenous extinction that has been naturalized in Puerto Rican historiography.

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Mérida M. Rúa (ed.)

Latino Urban Ethnography and the Work of Elena Padilla. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011. viii + 215 pp. (Paper US\$22.00)

At its 2002 International Conference in Chicago, the Puerto Rican Studies Association (PRSA) recognized Elena Padilla's legacy to Puerto Rican and Latino Studies. Padilla is coauthor of the classic ethnography *The People of Puerto Rico: A Study in Social Anthropology* (Steward et al. 1956) and author of *Up from Puerto Rico* (Padilla 1958), the first major study about Puerto Ricans in New York directed by a Puerto Rican scholar. The book under review compiles the papers presented at the PRSA conference by Zaire Zenit Dinzey-Flores, Mérida M. Rúa, Nicholas De Genova, and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, as well as an introduction by Rúa and Arlene Torres. The volume also features a brief prologue by Padilla and her 1947 master's thesis at the University of Chicago, "Puerto Rican Immigrants in New York and Chicago: A Study in Comparative Assimilation." Altogether, the book assesses the theoretical, methodological, and substantive contributions and limitations of Padilla's study of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Padilla's early fieldwork followed closely the model of the Chicago School of Sociology. First, her research relied primarily on participant observation, unstructured interviews, personal documents, and archival materials. Second, she focused on the acculturation and assimilation of recent immigrants to U.S. urban life. Third, she posited that an ethnic group's size and "ecological distribution" within the city's landscape were critical in its adaptation to American culture. Overall, Padilla confirmed the tenets of urban ecology proposed by sociologists William I. Thomas and Robert E. Park. She concluded that acculturation and assimilation had proceeded more swiftly in the smaller and more scattered Puerto Rican settlements in Chicago than in New York City during the 1940s. Surprisingly, many Puerto Ricans moved into Chicago's predominantly Mexican neighborhoods and often married Mexicans. This was an intriguing example of "acculturation"—cultural change through intergroup contact—without "assimilation"—a group's incorporation into the host society.

The contributors to *Latino Urban Ethnography and the Work of Elena Padilla* reflect on the broader implications of her thesis on the Puerto Rican diaspora. Dinzey-Flores builds on Padilla's insights into the way race and class shaped the residential segregation of Puerto Ricans in the United States. She shows that urban planners like Daniel Hudson Burnham and Robert Moses, as well as followers of the architect Le Corbusier, crafted innercity enclaves that increasingly concentrated poor ethnic and racial minorities. In postwar Puerto Rico, she argues, Le Corbusier's model of the superblock also inspired public housing projects, though consisting primarily of medium- to low-rise buildings. As

in the United States, such projects tended to separate poor and dark-skinned residents from wealthier and lighter-skinned ones.

Rúa's chapter focuses on Padilla's commitment to improve the quality of life for her study's participants. Together with Muna Muñoz Lee and other graduate students at the University of Chicago, Padilla denounced the deplorable conditions of Puerto Rican contract workers, especially domestic employees, in Chicago during the mid-1940s. The students' report caught the attention of the Puerto Rican Senate, which commissioned an investigation into the alleged labor abuses and eventually elaborated a new policy toward migrant workers. Like Padilla, Rúa identifies with the subjects of her own ethnographic fieldwork, Puerto Rican women who migrated to the Near Northwest Side of Chicago in the 1950s. Rúa chronicles how such women managed to construct a viable community amid urban renewal efforts and gang violence.

De Genova critically interrogates the significance of the close ties between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago during the mid-1940s as precursors of *Latinidad*, a common identity among people of Latin American background. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the United States were stigmatized as nonwhite and followed a different path from previous waves of European immigrants. Yet both groups, which formed the backbone of the contemporary Latino population, were also distinguished from African Americans through their housing, occupational, and marriage patterns. Contrary to Padilla's prediction of their imminent "Mexicanization," Puerto Ricans in Chicago came to assert a vibrant identity apart from Mexicans, especially through the creation of *Paseo Boricua* ("Puerto Rican Promenade"), a one-mile strip along Division Street near Humboldt Park. As De Genova underscores, "There is nothing automatic, inevitable, or even necessary, after all, about the emergence of a shared sense of 'Latino' identity among distinct groups of Latin American origin or ancestry" (pp. 171–172).

Ramos-Zayas's final contribution to this volume explores how Padilla straddled discourses about public intellectuals in Latin America and the United States. Padilla's predominantly male colleagues marginalized her, and she never held an academic appointment in an anthropology department. Ramos-Zayas documents the difficulties of a Puerto Rican woman to meet the conflicting standards of a public intellectual in the United States and Puerto Rico. As she writes, "Padilla was in a subordinate position as a Puerto Rican working with mostly American researchers for whom anthropologists needed to be separate from the 'exotic-Other-subject' of their study" (p. 197). At the same time, Padilla's work was generally neglected in Puerto Rico because it did not engage directly with the nationalist discourse then prevalent among the island's intellectual elite.

Latino Urban Ethnography and the Work of Elena Padilla is a valuable addition to Puerto Rican, Latino, and Caribbean studies. The volume recuperates a little-known account of postwar migration from Puerto Rico to the United States by a pioneer in Caribbean anthropology. Rúa's thoughtful collection revisits many relevant issues for contemporary researchers, such as the reflexive role of the "native fieldworker," the gendered dimensions of academic politics, the racial and class stratification of urban enclaves, and the ongoing construction of a panethnic sense of *Latinidad*. I strongly recommend the book for those interested in immigration, ethnicity, and race in the United States and the Caribbean.

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Laurette S.M. Bristol

Plantation Pedagogy: A Postcolonial and Global Perspective. New York: Peter Lang, 2012. vii + 206 pp. (Paper US\$ 37.95)

In *Plantation Pedagogy*, Laurette Bristol presents two major agendas with regard to primary school education in the twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago. She provides a stinging and unapologetic critique of educational practices carried over from the days of British colonial rule into the postindependence era. And she offers hope for the adoption of a redemptive educational alternative capable of emancipating the citizenry from the shackles of colonial rule and slavery.

An overarching feature of Trinidad and Tobago's educational system that spilled over into the present from the pre-independence era (of which Bristol is severely critical) is the organization of human resources in the teaching service. Bristol objects to the supervisory and, by extension, domineering roles assigned to the minister of Education and his or her supervisors. She frowns on the junior/senior dynamics existing between primary and secondary school teachers. And she finds fault in the insistence on individualistic as opposed to collaborative operations by teachers in the classroom. Within this structure, Bristol perceives unmistakable parallels with the old colonial plantation system. Massa is the minister of Education, the overseer is the school supervisor, and the laborers are the teachers who merely implement without question the curriculum that massa has imposed from above.

Bristol is strong in identifying weaknesses in teaching strategies that continue to strangle education and true independence in Trinidad and Tobago. She laments the fact that the country inherited an unreflective post-colonial teaching methodology that emphasizes mastery in various teaching techniques, which Bristol calls "techné." This approach, she points out, kills critical and creative thinking and emphasizes specific skill acquisition. The end product, as in the days of slavery, is a populace that can hardly function independently and which is fit merely for providing low-level skills. Bristol points out that such a state of affairs is not accidental and admits that the economic limitations of a fledgling nation in 1962 explain in part the backwardness of the system currently in operation. The old colonial masters, donning the modern disguises of international lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, wield their relative financial power over the new and struggling nation to control the teaching and learning activities that unfold in the nation's classrooms. There is no argument with Bristol's observation that the postcolonial pedagogy prevailing in modern day Trinidad and Tobago promotes economic dependence, external frames of references, a sharp

divide between teachers and educational administrators, and the presence of the overseer. Its hidden objective is to ensure continued survival of the plantation system.

Bristol believes that while the colonial chains imprisoning education in Trinidad and Tobago are strong, they can be broken by redefining education and reeducating the nation's educators. Instead of teaching by blindly following established techniques, for example, she advocates teaching by praxis, an approach involving practical experiences which in turn encourages conscious reflection and meaningful teaching and learning. Central to this alternative pedagogy, Bristol insists that the nation's teachers and students must become attuned to the indigenous culture as an effective mechanism in dismantling the fixation on the plantation pedagogy. She places so much weight on culture in education that in her redefinition of an educated person, she depicts the learner as one "who can act as a cultural critic of his society" (p. 80). Because she appreciates the fact that the reconstruction of the plantation pedagogy is an uphill task, she aptly refers to it as an act of resistance or subversive activity. She also takes the bold step of restating the purpose of education, dismissing the self-defeating notion that the purpose of education is to create a populace fit for the global workforce and declaring that "Teaching is an intentional human activity, the sole purpose of which is to bring about learning" (p. 83).

The solid dialectic within which the two major themes of *Plantation Pedagogy* are framed rests on extensive research. Bristol is conversant with leaders in educational scholarship such as Henry Giroux, Andy Hargreaves, Paul Hirst, and John Passmore. She has also drawn on relevant volumes of secondary sources by such historians as Barry Higman, Carl Campbell, and Eric Williams, as well as primary documents on education in Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which contribute to the book's global perspective. And she has taken relevant insights from the literary criticism of writers such as Derek Walcott and Kenneth Ramchand and conducted interviews with ten primary school teachers of different ethnic orientations.

One minor flaw in this otherwise well-researched and well-written treatise is the organization of the material. Themes, such as the subversive activity of teaching and researching and the need to appreciate local culture, are repeated in both early and later chapters. Or again, in the first chapter Bristol suggests some solutions for counteracting plantation pedagogy and then in Chapter 3 goes on to describe its nature and manifestations. These flaws, however, do not lead to a confusing text. Bristol succeeds in exposing the negative impact of plantation pedagogy on the educational initiatives to which Trinidad and Tobago has aspired in its quest for meaningful independence. More impor-

tantly, she points the way forward by offering an alternative pedagogy that is steeped in the local culture of the country.

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Mark Schuller

Killing with Kindness: Haiti, International Aid, and NGOs. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012. xvi + 233 pp. (Paper US\$26.95)

Depending on one's perspective, Haiti is uniquely endowed, or harmfully plagued, with thousands of NGOs who receive the bulk of the donor relief and development funding that in other countries would go to local governments. In this book, whose title anticipates its negative conclusions, urban-activist-turned-anthropologist Mark Schuller critiques the NGO system and its funders using the time honored methods of extended ethnography, systematic comparison of two ethnographic cases, and application of a broader interpretive framework.

Schuller conducted twenty months of fieldwork in Haiti (2003–2005), plus postearthquake follow-up (2010), among two foreign-funded Haitian NGOs run by (and serving) Haitian women. Funding pressures pushed them toward condom distribution and sex-education for HIV/AIDS prevention. Several ethnographic chapters richly describe settings, meetings, and field events, transporting readers to scenes that document “development” programming at its most absurd. Port-au-Prince school children were taken in a bus to the South to perform a condom-demonstration skit for village women. No women came. (It was market day.). The bored young urbanites made condom balloons and littered the rural schoolyard with their boxed-lunch trash before leaving. “Hungry local youth had only chicken bones and whatever else was thrown away” (p. 57). In another fiasco a soccer-for-sex-ed event ended in a denigrating brawl over boxes of condoms thrown in the air. Such condom pushing cum sex-ed is a controversial development domain where programming idiocy is predictably at its highest, as foreigners fund local elites to “improve” the sexual behavior of the masses. Schuller’s direct quotes of skeptical Haitians—e.g., viewing AIDS as a foreign scare tactic or NGOs as lucrative businesses—give insight into common Haitian perceptions. He skillfully compares two NGOs; the one with multiple funding sources was able to resist donor pressures to distribute risky contraceptive drugs. (I would note that such imposed anovulants expose HIV “health” rhetoric as a front for population control.)

Paradigmatically Schuller claims to meld “Foucault’s technics of power with a Marxist world-systems analysis” (p. 12). His “Marxism,” however, strangely ignores the profit motive. The profiteering nonprofit (a wealthy NGO subset) is a major scourge in contemporary Haiti, managing and pocketing a high percentage of development funds, which infuriates skeptical Haitians, some of whom Schuller quotes. Yet except for brief paragraphs buried on pages 167 and 193, this issue of legally pocketed millions is scarcely mentioned. Schuller

critiques NGOs for more abstruse reasons. They are a “glue” to the world system; they are mechanisms of “trickle down imperialism”; they lure employees away from the public sector, etc.

If Schuller’s own Haitian skeptics had been the authors, the book would have been more concerned about the profit maneuvers of the NGOs than with their negative abstract functions. There is a one-sentence footnote that one NGO director earned twenty times more than some employees and a half-sentence lament (p. 190) about the secrecy of NGO budgets. (Imagine that!) Schuller himself undertakes no budgetary analysis. And a strangely labeled “Afterword” (pp. 188–194), written after the conclusion to give concrete recommendations, ignores NGO profiteering. Major recommendations are: communities must organize to better utilize NGO aid. NGOs should support local initiatives. Haiti’s national government should give money to local governments. The United States should give more foreign aid and cease linking it to politics. Citizens should “occupy” their governments. And all of us should *kenbe fèm*—“hang in there”—recognizing “what we are worth as human beings.” The book ends with the inspirational proletarian promise that “another world is possible” if we remain “in solidarity with one another” (p. 194).

How comforting—particularly to the institutional predators of the post-earthquake “humanitarian” gold rush. Nobody exposes their salaries and budgets nor demands that they lower their take. Just be more participatory and more communicative with the Haitian government. With the book’s softball recommendations, beltway bottom lines are safe. Serious Marxism of yore structurally transformed the lives of populations such as those still trapped in Cuba and North Korea. In contrast, the post-Cold War quiche-and-sherry “Marxism” of academia, fashionably sprinkled with a bit of Foucault, generates harmless tut-tut bromides aimed at “ending this killing with kindness once and for all” (p. 188).

What should be ended is the killing-with-kindness discourse itself. The tens of millions in North America and Europe who kindly texted postearthquake donations did not kill Haitians. And the green-eyeshade beltway predators who cleverly divert millions earmarked for the poor of Haiti into their own institutional coffers do so without a shred of human kindness. Nobody is killing Haitians with kindness. Ordinary Haitians, unaided by their own government and benefitting at most marginally from snatches of NGO aid, survive on their own.

What should more urgently be ended (and Schuller would agree) is cashing in on poverty via outrageous institutional rip-offs posing as aid. A foreign donor (with an 8 percent overhead allowance) asked me, along with a Haitian colleague, to evaluate the performance of a beltway NGO to whom the donor

had entrusted \$1.5 million. A skeptical anthropologist bypasses introductory blah-blah rhetoric and goes straight to the budget. We had to inform the shocked donor that, by clever fine-print and (totally legal) obfuscating labeling maneuvers, the NGO captured 40 percent of the budget, not 8 percent, for its Washington and Haiti offices. Such institutional rapacity is as common in Beijing as it is in DC. Exposing it requires no anti-imperialist Marxist musings or excursions into theoretical la-la land, but aggressive common-sense budgetary research that would have strengthened the book.

As for potential readership, the book's revealing index, again with proletarian fidelity, cites Occupy Wall Street (hurray) and the Tea Party (boo). In contrast, farming, female marketing, education, health care, and emigration—five pillars of ordinary Haitian survival—are amazingly absent from the index of a book ostensibly dealing with Haitian development. This simply reveals the intended audience: academic critics interested in using Haiti as fodder to zap the capitalist world system rather than in-depth students of ordinary Haitian life or professionals designing development interventions.

That is not a criticism. It is simply a clarification for potential readers. The world system and the NGO establishment in Haiti indeed merit zapping. The book has a lengthy and useful critical bibliography. And Schuller has paid his dues as a Haiti-based professional critic, learning Creole, doing two years of meticulous fieldwork, and generating vivid descriptions of two NGOs. Such descriptions are a genuine contribution and will continue to interest readers and researchers long after the book's paradigmatic musings become obsolete. In any case we can anticipate from Schuller a continued stream of stimulating criticism concerning this unique Caribbean "Republic of NGOs."

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Derick Boyd & Ron Smith

Monetary Policy, Central Banking and Economic Performance in the Caribbean.

Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. xi + 143 pp. (Paper US\$ 40.00)

The year 2011 marked fifty years since the first Caribbean central bank opened its doors. While the language varied from country to country, these banks had four basic functions: maintenance of the internal and external value of the currency, economic development, financial stability, and capital market development (Blackman 1988). The anniversary provides an opportune time to assess the success of regional central banks in relation to these four objectives.

Monetary Policy, Central Banking and Economic Performances in the Caribbean is divided into two main parts. Chapters 1–2, the substantive section, provide an assessment of the monetary features of the Caribbean in order to explore the link between monetary policy and economic performance. Chapters 3–8, the methodological section, describe the monetary policy transmission mechanism—how changes in monetary policy variables (e.g. interest rates) impact economic performance—through the use of empirical techniques.

One of the main pressures faced by these pioneers of central banking in the Caribbean was the trade-off between economic development and stability. In its early history the Bank of Jamaica, for example, fully backed its currency with foreign reserves, similar to its Currency Board predecessor. However, the approach was seen at the time as a “dereliction of duty to the domestic economy” (p. 23). This argument, combined with rise of Keynesian demand-side management thinking, placed significant pressure on some central banks in the region to provide deficit financing. Two groups of countries therefore emerged from this era: one with institutional arrangements that reinforced monetary stability (e.g., currency board and fixed exchange rate economies) and another that did not (floating exchange rate economies). Boyd and Smith took the stability of microstates with fixed exchange rates through the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s—without devaluation—as evidence of the value of this institutional approach. In addition to institutions, however, and perhaps more important, were the policy choices made by some of these fixed exchange rate economies. Peter Blair Henry and Conrad Miller (2009) note, for example, that in addition to exchange rate policy, the existence of growth-facilitating policies, fiscal discipline, openness to trade, and wage flexibility were important determinants of the superior performance of some of the fixed exchange rate countries in the region.

The second section estimates various models of the monetary transmission mechanism for a group of twelve Caribbean islands. Using an unrestricted

VAR (“vector autoregression”), Boyd and Smith report that monetary policy shocks have no significant impact on output and only a marginal effect on prices. These results largely agree with previous research in the area: income and prices in the Caribbean are largely driven by world income and prices, respectively. As explained in this book, many Caribbean islands are dependent on tourism, which to a large degree is driven by fluctuations in incomes of key source markets. In addition, the limited production base of many islands would imply that world prices quickly spill over to domestic prices through imports. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, many Caribbean islands devalued their currencies with the hope that this would increase competitiveness and restore balance of payments equilibrium. The outcome, however, was not as expected. Many of the islands that engaged in this type of nominal exchange rate adjustment only experienced modest gains in their trade balance. Chapter 8 provides a partial answer as to why this occurred: the elasticity on the real exchange rate variable was statistically insignificant in most countries, which implies that devaluation would not bring about an improvement in the balance of trade. This finding is largely related to the types of goods exported by the region. By and large, the region’s main exports are services and commodities. In the case of tourism, a small change in the exchange rate is unlikely to bring about a significant rise in tourist arrivals, while the region is such a small player on the world market in relation to its commodity exports that the benefits of competitive devaluations are not easily seen. Given these characteristics, competitive devaluations—as shown by Boyd and Smith—are unlikely to work in the Caribbean context.

Monetary Policy, Central Banking and Economic Performances in the Caribbean provides a useful assessment of the efficacy of monetary policy in the Caribbean. For policymakers, the lack of a significant relationship between monetary policy and economic performance is an instructive result. It suggests that macroeconomic management would largely fall on the shoulders of fiscal authorities in the region. For those of us teaching courses in macroeconomics, the text provides a quite readable introduction to the history and difficulties of monetary policy in a small open economy. Overall, the book is a useful contribution to the field of monetary policy studies and could serve as the basis of future research in the area.

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David A.B. Murray

Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia and Social Change in Barbados.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. x + 144 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

David Murray's *Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia and Social Change in Barbados*, which examines contemporary Bajan gender and sexual identities through interviews, participant observation, and media analysis, joins a growing literature on queer Caribbean life. Organized into nine short chapters (including the introduction and conclusion), it attempts to provide a complex rendering of Bajan gay life attentive to the historical, social, economic, and political factors that contribute to what he claims is an inverted reflection of North American queer activism and communities—the relative invisibility of gays and lesbians and the relative acceptance and visibility of transgender people. Murray's project is not interested in lesbians nor does it explore the similarities between queer people of color living in North America and queen and gay Bajans. Instead it focuses on the differences between Barbadian and “Euro-American” conceptions of gender and sexuality. However, in his precise, albeit narrow, definition of “gay” as a gender normative sexual orientation in “Euro-American” culture, Murray fails to include discussion of the way such a definition was consolidated in a post-Stonewall era of queer political realignment in the United States.

The first half of *Flaming Souls* takes up key discursive modalities that produce and circulate the concept of the homosexual in Barbados and its diaspora. Whether in an analysis of Barbadian “feedback media” (Chapter 1), HIV/AIDS policy and governmental initiatives (Chapter 2), or the circulation of human and sexual rights discourses in everyday conversations and newspapers (Chapter 3), Murray carefully explores how the rights and risks of homosexuality inflect public debates about Barbadian national citizenship. He maintains that antigay sentiments aired in the press should not be read as indicative of national homophobia; rather, those who express these views “are unhappy with the current socioeconomic situation and strive to return to a mythic past of a communal, heterosexual, and homogenous Christian nation” (p. 27). In other words, homosexuality has acquired an emblematic status in public discourse, representing contemporary social instability and national immorality.

The balance of the text focuses on the lives of queens (transgender and gender nonconforming individuals) and gay men in Barbados in an effort to compensate for “a paucity of research on the lived effects of negative public representations of the homosexual” (p. 54). Chapter 4 hinges on the story of Edward (a pseudonym), a bed-and-breakfast owner who publicizes his business through publications geared toward gay European and American tourists.

In keeping with literature on gay tourism in the Caribbean and Central and South America, Murray describes how neocolonial logics undergird gay tourist industries in Barbados, ensuring lines of separation between the mostly gay white visitors and Afro-Caribbean inhabitants. Chapters 5 and 6 are explications of Murray's fieldwork with Bajan queens, while the seventh chapter includes brief biographies of three gay-identified men in Barbados with little analysis.

Murray's discussion of the connections between commercial communicative technologies and Afro-Caribbean gay life makes a useful contribution to the literature on mobile telephony and intimacy in the Caribbean. As he follows a series of romantic relationships between Bajan queens and their Jamaican boyfriends, Murray is able to provide compelling evidence for the way the proliferation of cell phones, with affordable text plans and chat room features, has contributed to a lively gay social scene in Jamaica. On the other hand, his explications of the multiple terms used to describe Barbadian queer people—queen, butch queen, posh queen, thug, down low, and gay—seem not to reflect the connections between such terms and African American vernacular, particularly in ballroom culture, where terms like butch and femme queen have been in circulation for several decades. Or with terms like “down low” and “thug,” which hold resonance with an ongoing media spectacle in the United States. Rather than contextualizing his informants' descriptions of the terminological terrain in light of the way HIV/AIDS discourses, the exponential growth of evangelical churches, and rapid communicative technologies have necessitated new modes of confession, Murray attempts to make sense of his data by measuring it against a reified notion of “gay” that fails to see how such terms might operate colloquially to refer to nonheteronormativity.

As Murray crafts an ethnography toggling between local, national, and transnational scales to render the lives of his subjects, his work prompts questions that I hope will be examined in future research. His argument about the polyvalent nature of “reputation” and “respect” in Barbadian daily life, for example, would benefit from including more voices, since both concepts imply a level of social participation beyond self-perception. As a reader, one wonders how a complex Barbadian sexual landscape might be explored if lesbians and heterosexual-identified people were included as key informants.

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Werner Zips

Nanny's Asafo Warriors: The Jamaican Maroons' African Experience. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011. xlv + 262 pp. (Paper US\$35.00)

This interesting book was first published in German in 2003 under the title *Das Stachelschwein erinnert sich: Ethnohistorie als praxeologische Strukturgeschichte* (*The porcupine remembers: Ethnohistory as praxeological structural history*). It was later updated and translated into English by Francesca Deakin. Werner Zips has written several books and articles on the black experience in Africa and the Americas during and after the colonial era (see the bibliography in the work under review). Historians dealing with the Maroons will no doubt be aware of his seminal work entitled *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica* (1999). He has spent over twenty years doing ethnographic and other research among the Jamaican Maroons, and has also spent a great deal of time conducting related research in West Africa on the slave trade and the African diasporic experience. He is therefore well qualified to write on these subjects.

Nanny's Asafo Warriors deals mainly with a comparison of the political and religious systems in Ghana and the Accompong Maroon community in Jamaica. A preface and a fairly long introduction entitled "Encounters with History—History of Encounters" are followed by six chapters: "Ethnohistorical Appraisal of the 'Historical Present,'" "The Logic of Maroon Praxis: Some Theoretical and Methodical Notes," "Roots from the Roots—Africa in Jamaica," "A Comparative Dimension of West Africa and the Caribbean: On the Structural History of Chieftaincy among the Maroons," "Engendering History: Comparative Reconstruction of Female Political Participation in Jamaica and West Africa," and "Sanctified by Blood Sacrifice—The 1738-/1739 Peace Treaty as the Basis for Maroon Sovereignty." The analysis concludes with an epilogue. Each chapter contains extensive notes. The bibliography includes a wide-ranging list of sources, both published and unpublished, and an impressive list of "interviews and conversations." A number of richly colored photos of various persons and places in Jamaica and Ghana help to illustrate the text.

The strength of the study lies in the wide comparisons that Zips makes between the various political groups and stools in Ghana on the one hand and those of the Accompong Maroons on the other. For instance, he indicates that rituals such as burial and coronation ceremonies, ceremonial umbrellas, annual festivals of remembrance and veneration of ancestors, the role of the queen-mother, and (in several instances) actual titles and names indicate clearly a close affinity between the two communities. He provides the most

convincing argument and evidence that this writer has come across to prove that the Accompong Maroons are largely of Akan origin.

Apart from the comparative dimension, the book deals in some detail with the origins and development of the Maroon communities in Jamaica. Much of the discourse attempts a revisionist approach to previous writers on the subject, especially in relation to the treaties that were signed by the British on the one hand, and the Leeward and Windward Maroons on the other, in 1739. Zips criticizes Edward Long (1774), Bryan Edwards (1801), and Robert Dallas (1803), the three major contemporary writers on the Maroons, for deliberately distorting the relations between the Maroon communities and the colonial state to convey the impression that the former were forced to make peace with the latter or risk the impending destruction of their polities. He also takes to task more recent writers, such as Barbara Kopytoff (1973, 1979), Orlando Patterson (1979), and Mavis Campbell (1990), for buying uncritically into the Maroon narrative of the three "colonial" historians mentioned above, and repeating many of their views. One aspect of the treaties (as published by the authoritarian state) with which he takes particular issue is the provision of a British "superintendent" in the Maroon settlements, and the requirement that only the authoritarian state could impose the death penalty.

Zips is quite correct in saying that some aspects of the published treaties and the narratives by contemporary historians do not make logical sense in terms of the historical relations between the authoritarian state and the Maroon polities. Neither the suggestions, for instance, that the Maroon leader Kojo (Cudjoe) grovelled at the feet of Cassidy, the British military officer sent to conduct peace negotiations with him, nor the British concession in the treaty of only 1500 acres to the Maroons (when the Maroons had previously occupied and ranged over a much larger territory) seem to make much sense. At the same time, Zips appears to have accepted the Maroon interpretation of every contentious issue in the published treaty, and the wider early posttreaty relations between the two parties. His analysis would (or could) have been enriched by a comparison between the treaties under review and earlier treaties that Mexico, Colombia, Brazil and other colonial states had made previously with Maroon communities, and the later ones that the Dutch authorities made with the Suriname Maroons. The Jamaican government clearly borrowed extensively from the early treaties, which contained basically the same clauses as those in the treaties signed with the Leeward and Windward Maroons.

Zips's discourse is at times clouded by far too complex language which the ordinary reader would find difficult, if not impossible, to unravel. This is particularly true of the preface and introduction. But on the whole, his book adds a fresh perspective on its subject.

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Julian Henriques

Sonic Bodies: Reggae Sound Systems, Performance Techniques, and Ways of Knowing.
New York: Continuum, 2011. xxxvi + 352 pp. (Paper US\$29.95)

In the preamble to *Sonic Bodies*, Julian Henriques explains that his “entire approach and orientation is one of thinking through sound.” He suggests that the recent advent of sound reproduction technology, in contrast to centuries of written language, confronts academia with the need to incorporate some “ways of knowing” that are associated with auditory communication more than with visual communication. This perspective has important implications for the way we think of “knowledge,” suggesting, for example, that knowledge resides in the body as well as in the mind, that knowledge includes *relationships with* people and things, not just *ideas about* people and things, and that knowledge resides in street culture as much as it resides in academic culture. Henriques’s ambition is to attempt “a mode of Cultural Studies that is itself auditory, as distinct to one that has audition as its object of investigation” (p. xxvi). This is an intriguing challenge for a book that is meant to be read, not heard. Although he raises important questions in the process, I am not convinced he has succeeded.

Henriques begins by describing a model of “auditory propagation” that considers *instrument*, *medium*, and *techniques*. As he describes the work of the Stone Love Movement, the sound system and crew with whom he worked most closely, he extends and transforms his propagation model into numerous other “three-fold relationships,” including *material/corporeal/sociocultural*, *engineer/selector/MC*, *cut/mix/rewind*, and more. The concept of “triangulation” is used throughout to analyze dynamic relationships, and to transcend the dichotomies of conventional academic thinking. Accordingly, the book is organized into three parts (each of which is in turn divided into three chapters): “The Audio Engineer and the Material Waveband,” “The Selector and the Corporeal Waveband,” and “The MC and the Sociocultural Waveband.”

Part I describes the work of the audio engineer, which is critical for the functioning and the distinctive sound of every sound system. I especially like this part of the book because it contains the most quotes from the research subjects, explaining in their own words what they are concerned with and what they do. Here Henriques also articulates the concept of “sounding” and its implications for research methodology. He compares “sounding” to “musicking,” a term coined by musicologist Christopher Small (1998) to explain music in terms of human behavior and relationships, instead of treating it as an objectifiable work or score. Given this emphasis on relationships, Henriques argues that an

analysis of “sounding” requires a research methodology of engagement, dialogue, and participation (pp. 99–116). Furthermore, if we conceive knowledge to be embodied and relational, it is important for “our own subjectivity ... to be recognised and appreciated” (p. xix). This principle remains largely theoretical in *Sonic Bodies*, though—a concern to which I will return below.

Part II describes the work of the selector, who monitors the energy of the crowd and “shapes the session” by choosing which records to play when. Henriques stresses that playing records in this way is more than the simple reproduction of sound, and that the selector’s role challenges “traditional distinctions between production and consumption” (p. 159). He refers to the three-fold audio propagation model as a more useful way to analyze the complex intertwinings of production, consumption, and the broader context in which they occur (p. 159). He cites scholars of hip hop culture, as well as a litany of European and Greek philosophers (especially in Chapter 6, “Cut, Mix ‘n’ Rewind”) to locate the arts of the selector—and the sound system in general—in relation to other aesthetic traditions.

Part III focuses on the work of the MC, and elaborates the concept of *sonic logos* to describe words that are embodied and sounded. Henriques notes some specific techniques of the MC (in particular DJ Squeeze), including riding the riddim, toasting and tracing, and conducting choir. His major concern in these final three chapters, however, is theoretical. Utilizing the Jamaican sound system as a springboard, he challenges the European paradigm of mind/body separation, arguing that the sounding and embodiment of words gives them meaning that they would not have in their abstract written form. He also challenges the separation of knowing from doing, and argues that the “practical” techniques of the sound system crew—the MC, selector, and audio engineer—should not be seen as lesser than the “formal epistemic systems of knowledge” favored by academics (p. 215). The concepts of triangulation and relationality are repeatedly emphasized here.

I agree with Henriques’s concern that academia should value the *sonic logos* alongside the written word, should make room for embodied knowledge, and should connect knowing with doing. But I’m less sure how well this book helps us take on those challenges. After proposing at the outset to think through sound, and advocating a research methodology of engagement, relationship, and reflexivity, Henriques spends more time than he needs to talking about European scholars and ideas. His main concern seems to be that DJ techniques should be taken seriously as art and culture, but he argues for this in very academic terms, and with less ethnographic detail than I expected. *Sonic Bodies* does not fulfill his promise to model a new approach to scholarship. It does not feel to me like thinking through sound, and it tells us little about Henriques’s

embodied engagement in the dance hall—a strange omission given his theoretical arguments about embodied and relational knowledge.

On balance this book seems more engaged with academic culture than with sound system culture. “It is an indication of how wide the chasm between thinking and doing has become,” Henriques writes in the epilogue, “that skilled techniques should be recognised as anything other than *philosophy in practice*. This is possibly the most important conclusion to be drawn from the research findings—the extent to which they emphasize the significance of *evaluation* in the crew’s skilled techniques and performance” (p. 275, emphases mine). I am left wondering how *Sonic Bodies* “sounds” to the philosophers of the Stone Love Movement, and how they would evaluate it.

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Michael Niblett

The Caribbean Novel Since 1945: Cultural Practice, Form, and the Nation-State.

Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012. vii + 260 pp. (Cloth US\$60.00)

The Caribbean Novel Since 1945 is a sharp and provocative study of Caribbean fiction from the second half of the twentieth century. Michael Niblett challenges what he sees as the postcolonial studies-inspired “orthodoxy of post-nationalism” (p. 13) and “hostility toward totalities” (p. 13), deploying instead a methodology that is unashamed of its aspirations to offer a cognitive map of “the relationship between national transformation and literary form” in the Caribbean (p. 4). Instead of celebrating the dissolution of borders as liberating, Niblett urges us to keep in mind the “massively uneven integration of the Caribbean into the world market, simultaneously driving many of its nation-states into crisis” (p. 14). His book thus emerges as an important contribution to rethinking Caribbean writing in the context of ongoing international inequalities that threaten to undermine the critical purchase of a nostalgic return to anticolonial nationalism or a premature celebration of its surmounting.

Niblett insists that the nation remains a key site for organizing resistance to imperial capitalism, even as he readily and productively leaps beyond borders in his own approach to show parallels between Anglophone, Francophone, and Hispanic Caribbean writing. Considering these language groups separately might lead to a sense that their national developments are so different as to be almost incomparable: most of the Anglophone islands became independent in the two decades after 1962, while the Francophone and Hispanic Caribbean includes nations established in the nineteenth century and islands that are still not independent today. But the “world-systems standpoint” (p. 14) Niblett adopts allows him to read these divergent national histories as part of a larger narrative of transformations in global capitalism. From this standpoint, the “anticipation of collective renewal” in novels of the 1950s by Martinicans Édouard Glissant and Joseph Zobel parallels that of Trinidadian Sam Selvon’s work of the same period, even if the optimism in the French island “hinged less on prospective independence than on departmentalization, which many regarded as a stepping-stone to greater freedom” (p. 55). Similarly, this comparative approach lets Niblett see an ideology of consumption depicted in novels by Luis Rafael Sánchez, Earl Lovelace, and Patrick Chamoiseau.

The parallels Niblett identifies are not only in terms of the kinds of worlds these novels depict; the main premise of his book is that the experiments, crises, and innovations in literary form that we see in Caribbean fiction come from socioeconomic causes. Magical realism, yard fiction of the 1930s, appropriations or deconstructions of the epic—all are read as literary responses to

the social world. Or to put it in Niblett's terms, these formal devices are "translating social reality into" the "logic" of the literary field (p. 37). Niblett engages especially with Fredric Jameson's idea of national allegory and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the field to develop his methodology. This approach allows Niblett to point to "utopian" impulses in Caribbean fiction, particularly in the way novels attempt to imagine alternatives to the isolated individualism or privatization that undergirds imperial economics. Thinking about the relationship of Caribbean writing to the nation as this sort of mediated engagement allows *The Caribbean Novel Since 1945* to draw into the story writers like Wilson Harris and Erna Brodber, whose extreme stylization and resistance to mimeticism can lead to their sidelining as aestheticist rather than socially conscious writers. Niblett's argument that Harris's experiments with point of view speak to social transformations taking place in Guyana during the 1950s and 1960s is especially nuanced and convincing.

Tracing the ways that the literary field "translates" the social into its own language allows Niblett to provide excellent insights, while lending his readings political urgency. One notable example comes in his argument that "the crisis of political representation ... finds its literary corollary in a crisis of aesthetic representation" (p. 25). But Niblett doesn't leave us in a postcolonial abyss in which representation (either political or aesthetic) is deemed impossible or a silencing of the subaltern; instead, he sees in the work of Harris, Lovelace, and Glissant "that their interrogation of literary representation should not be confused with its endless deconstruction" (p. 125). By extension, Niblett concludes that these novels also teach that while some nationalist forms of political representation have led to elite appropriations, the novels of Lovelace, for example, show that "the problem is not representation or nationalism as such but the specific forms they have taken in Trinidad" (p. 125). These novels, in Niblett's reading, push us not to reject representation and nationalism but to imagine alternative forms that are more open to internal difference and self-aware of the pitfalls of totalization. This attention to literature's utopian impulses and alternative aspirations makes *The Caribbean Novel Since 1945* an important work for thinking not only about Caribbean literature but also about Caribbean politics more generally.

At the same time, one limitation of Niblett's methodology is that, in focusing so much on the way literature reflects or is influenced by social forces, the book is less concerned with the question of whether these imaginings have actually reflected back on and affected the society around them. A more materialist—or more precisely, dialectical—way of thinking about the relationship of literature to the social might look at more examples like the one that opens the book, where Niblett mentions how the 1946 overthrow of the president in Haiti was

inspired by surrealism. Without more examples like this of literature entering the world around it, it can be hard to see how the close readings of the political imaginaries in these novels translate in the other direction, from literature back to the outside world.

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Jeff Karem

The Purloined Islands: Caribbean-U.S. Crosscurrents in Literature and Culture, 1880–1959. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 304 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

Inter-American scholarship continues to flourish, and its stock-in-trade appears to be persistent warnings against any facile homogenization of U.S. culture. Inter-Americanism is by definition comparative, including serious examination of the Caribbean islands; arguably this should be, at least by now, a moot point. But few critics have been equipped to engage French, Spanish, and English texts across the Caribbean basin with equal facility, which potentially means that broad comparisons are rare and overgeneralizations more likely. Consequently our scholarly and historical understanding over the course of the last century has struggled to capture the energy, diversity, and range of thought within and across the African diaspora.

Jeff Karem's *The Purloined Islands* seeks to redress this problem by gathering an impressively diverse and representative collection of writing by some of the brightest minds of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries devoted to racial thought from the United States and from English, Spanish, and French Caribbean islands—some well known, some lesser known but all in a fascinating and implicit, if not sometimes explicit, dialogue with one another. The list includes José Martí, W.E.B. DuBois, Anténor Fermin, Benito Sylvain, Henry Sylvester Williams, C.L.R. James, Zora Neale Hurston, James Weldon Johnson, Jacques Roumain, William Seabrook, William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, Claude McKay, Marcus Garvey, René Depestre, William Faulkner, Nicolás Guillén, Waldo Frank, George Lamming, Langston Hughes, and others. If that sounds like a lot, it is. Karem's broad sweep at times leaves him insufficient space to give adequate treatment to these figures, but his overview also provides a powerful reminder of the need for scholars to aggressively contextualize racial thought in the Americas, to be aware that it never emerged in isolation but in dialogue and competition with other voices across linguistic, racial, and geographical divides, and to see both the vital contributions and the apparent contradictions of such thought. His study serves as an indispensable reference for any future comparative work on racial thought in the extended Caribbean.

What also gives strength to this study is its thorough and often fascinating examination of archival materials—early drafts of books, correspondences, journals, essays—that help to fill out the picture of the anxieties and pressures that acted upon these thinkers as well as the sometimes unresolved differences between them. The methodology uncovers, for example, pressures on

Zora Neale Hurston in the writing of *Tell My Horse* that led her to cave in to some exoticization of Haiti, and it reveals the personal and political tensions between such figures as W.E.B. Du Bois and his Caribbean contemporaries. Karem's examination of Faulkner's earliest attempts to represent the Caribbean in his short fiction and his brief film work is much needed original research that provides new insights into the complexity of Faulkner's approach to the Caribbean. Another terrific moment is Waldo Frank's review of Eric Walrond's *Tropic Death*, in which Frank aggressively claims Walrond but then chastises him for being ashamed of his presumed "Caribbean peasant" ancestor. Karem is on his strongest ground when he argues for a "reciprocal dialogue" over race that persists throughout the region and that therefore necessitates a circum-spect and ambitious comparativism.

He is on less stable ground when he implies that we can equate complex positions among the various voices of the region. Some of these equations, to be fair, are not directly insisted on by Karem, but because he often leaves the comparisons unfinished, we get the impression that he wants us at least to see them as strong parallels, even when the evidence seems lacking. This is especially evident in his conclusion where he borrows from Donald Pease's reading of C.L.R. James in order to ask us to see all of these complex and fascinating readings as, well, not so complex and fascinating after all, but all examples of crewmen on the Pequod, subject to their U.S. captains. Nothing seems to steal more autonomy from these voices than such a monological reading. Karem asks us to believe that "It is hard to imagine a part of our hemisphere more forgotten to contemporary Americans than the Caribbean" (p. 261). I would think the Atacama desert of Chile or, say, Suriname, or Uruguay would qualify as such a space before I would choose Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, or Jamaica. It is not so much the Caribbean's lack of presence in U.S. discourse but the ways in which U.S. imperialism has been absented from its history in U.S. memory and from the story of black experience generally as conceived and framed by U.S. national discourse. It might be true that most Americans know of the Caribbean through Caribbean cruises, as Karem notes, but most Americans these days also know very little about, for example, the U.S. South. They aren't even reading Faulkner, let alone James Weldon Johnson.

Karem doesn't always tell us why certain figures are important, other than the fact that they spoke about issues relevant to the thought of others in his study. This obscures the reception history and relative impact of each writer, making the study at times appear to be arguing the obvious fact that writers have interests, ambition, and inevitable limitations that are a function of their language, culture, race, class, and gender. Or even of their individual personalities. The implicit assumption seems to be that if U.S. writers disagree with

or seek to distance themselves from Caribbean writers, it is only because of a political agenda even though what this agenda is or why we should believe that it always remains the same is never persuasively or clearly explained. Karem wants to insist on a persistent “purloining” of Caribbean ideas by U.S. thinkers, but the evidence—ample as it sometimes is in this exhaustive study—is not always there. Much of the evidence he uncovers speaks to the ways that the literatures of the two regions, and their racial concepts as well, were mutually constitutive, complex in motivation, and deeply ambivalent, rather than merely proving the one-way cultural theft by Northern intellectuals as his title and introduction imply. Sometimes it seems enough to argue that prickly or awkward personality conflicts such as the ongoing tensions between Marcus Garvey and Du Bois have shaped intercultural traffic. The more radical politics of Caribbean writers such as Garvey were not always rejected by their northern counterparts because of racial or geopolitical bias, as evidenced, for example, by Claude McKay’s rejection of Garvey’s politics. Karem sees this as leading to a stereotype of the islands as a whole. But to equate all rejections of radical politics as geopolitically motivated is to assume that radical politics are, indeed, *truly* Caribbean; it is, in other words, to assume such a stereotype.

Édouard Glissant, whose thinking about a poetics of diaspora is surprisingly absent in this study, provides an indispensable reading of Faulkner’s troubling and often contradictory racial discourse, the subtlety and nuance of which stands in contrast to Karem’s rather flat dismissal of Faulkner’s complex layering of rhetorical and multivoiced histories of southern spaces. Not all thefts are equal, which is to say that not all borrowings are thefts, and that is simply because all of them are committed with varying degrees of self-conscious awareness, artistic license, and sense of irony. That, anyway, was what I have always understood to be the function of fiction, at least since Cervantes’s impressive theft of Arabian romance.

Despite these shortcomings, we would do well to learn from Karem’s formidable ability to dig beneath the same old canonical voices in order to unveil the dynamic, political, and interpersonal struggles for authority and primacy that constitute literary and intellectual history. Such digging, he rightly insists, must take us beneath the veneers of geopolitical and linguistic differences and into the realm of an uncertain chaos that lies at the heart of all literary endeavors to make meaning. This allows us to see the politics of identity and of history that have been occluded by the same old meanings, habits, and stereotypes and to hear the range and particularities of individual voices. Karem’s study doesn’t follow through on its own claims enough to fully achieve this worthy goal, but it comes closer than any study in recent memory.

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Elizabeth DeLoughrey & George B. Handley (eds.)

Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xi + 348 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Readers of the *New West Indian Guide* might be surprised to see a generalist-sounding volume entitled *Postcolonial Ecologies* reviewed in a journal devoted to Caribbean studies. The table of contents of this collection of essays does not resolve the apparent riddle, as only four of the fourteen chapter titles address the Caribbean directly. However the solid introduction by editors Elizabeth DeLoughrey & George B. Handley highlights the important role played in the development of postcolonial ecocriticism by such thinkers as Guyanese Wilson Harris, St. Lucian Derek Walcott, and above all Martinican Édouard Glissant (to whose memory the book is dedicated). Admittedly, all postcolonial literatures have long displayed an historicizing interest in the land and its relations with the trauma of colonialism. Nevertheless the prominence of Caribbean thought in the ecocritical field can be explained by what Glissant has called the region's violent "irruption into modernity" which "created a schism between nature and culture in the region that its literature sought to bridge" (p. 27)—a contention that was the foundation of a 2005 anthology edited by DeLoughrey, Handley, and Renée Gosson entitled *Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture*.

Starting from the common ground between ecological and postcolonial thought (e.g., a concern for the connections between geography and otherness), the introduction undertakes a critical comparison of the various epistemologies at work within the different brands of environmentalism. This enlightening, well-documented discussion is, like the rest of the volume, marked by a refusal to homogenize and a desire to tackle the complex interdependence of binaries inherited from the Enlightenment such as metropole and colony, global and local, or hybridity and purity. The intention of the editors, who use Glissant's theory of "an aesthetics of the earth" as a stepping stone, is less to denounce the universalizing and dominating tendencies of some Western, often American, forms of ecocriticism than to "broaden the historical, theoretical, and geographic scope of contributions to ecocritical thought" (p. 16)—with the laudable aim of disturbing existing taxonomies and steering clear of simplifying approaches, such as what has been called "Green Orientalism" (pp. 18, 20).

The volume is organized in four thematic sections exploring the multiple but interacting facets of postcolonial ecology and, in most cases, underscoring the peculiar environmental vulnerability of poorer countries. The first part, "Cultivating Places," is comprised of three essays focusing on the representa-

tion of flora and the role that art—whether literature (by Kiran Desai and Derek Walcott) or painting (by Hector Hyppolite, Wilson Bigaud, and Henry Nickson)—can play in fostering awareness about the abuse of the land (caused by colonialism and later tourism), and even more importantly in offering subversive rethinking of the complex relationships between people and their environment.

The second section, “Forest Fictions,” centers on forests, not only their greed-induced destruction, but also their ability to raise questions about indigeneity, identity construction, and the intricate relationship between nature and culture. As Handley shows in his dense analysis of Alejo Carpentier’s *The Lost Steps*, the latter issue can be perceived in its full complexity if it is apprehended through ambivalent texts that are not simply mimetic but develop some form of poetics. Or again, Jennifer Wenzel’s subtle reading of a short story by Mahasweta Devi suggests seeing it through texts that “make their interventions not as empirical evidence of ecological crisis nor as ready-made blueprints for action ... but rather through their particularly literary mediations” (p. 151). Most of the novels and poems analyzed in the different contributions match these descriptions.

The four essays of the third section, “The Lives of (Nonhuman) Animals,” revolve around fauna rather than flora. Various examining the representation of game reserves in post-Apartheid South Africa, the cetacean turn in fiction, the status of animals in J.M. Coetzee’s work, and the transpersonality caused by the Bhopal tragedy in a novel by Indra Sinha, this section reminds us of how intertwined the fates of humans and animals are. It also stresses the political and ethical potential of this often complex alliance in terms of sustainability, survival, and rights.

The fourth section, “Militourism,” addresses neocolonial damage to the environment, whether in the form of nuclear radiation and nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific or tourism development in Sri Lanka and South Africa. Paying close attention to the history behind these ecological crises, the four contributions also comment on the way in which indigenous writers have deconstructed the military and touristic logic through local epistemologies and a postcolonial aesthetics that resist closure and narrow nationalism.

With perhaps one exception, the essays in *Postcolonial Ecologies* are solidly argued and reader-friendly, whether they are encyclopedic in nature (see the chapter by Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert) or focus on just one text. All of them testify to the formidable richness and the great relevance of the postcolonial approach to environmental issues. This original and wide-ranging collection, which will no doubt become a standard text in the field, also makes a strong case for the active participation of the humanities in general, and literature in

particular, in the debate around the state of our planet which has all too often been the preserve of the so-called hard sciences.

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Emily A. Maguire

Racial Experiments in Cuban Literature and Ethnography. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. ix + 237 pp. (Cloth US\$ 74.95)

The title of this book captures the intended axis through which its analysis is doubly centered. Both ethnography, as genre and practice, and literature, as trope and style, traverse the early texts of modern Cuban authors close to the so-called “afronegrismo” movement, or specialists in “Afro-Cuban Studies.” Moving between published books and essays produced between the 1920s and 1940s by Fernando Ortiz, Lydia Cabrera, Nicolás Guillén, Alejo Carpentier, and Zora Neale Hurston, Emily Maguire focuses on four possible comparative approaches to the way nation, race, gender, folklore, and art transited as themes in the production of knowledge about Cuba and Afro-Cubans.

Perhaps the most creative part of the book, Chapter 1, “Locating Afro-Cuban Religion: Fernando Ortiz and Lydia Cabrera,” is an invitation to rethink frequent differences between these two dissimilar authors, underlining not what they “discovered,” “revealed,” or “canceled,” but how and through which narrative devices their texts were built. The identification of “time” and “place” as tropes through which “cultural” difference and social and racial distance could be treated offers interesting insights for a literary criticism of a knowledge based on science and imagination. Instead of looking for the “real” subject and events—or, put another way, the unrepresentativeness of these texts (by revealing, for example, the “truth” of experiences they aimed to depict)—Maguire shows their “fabric” and, through it, the way some themes and concerns were textually and politically addressed. That Ortiz and Cabrera were different authors and that their literary and scientific skills were diverse we know. What seems a fertile and not redundant exercise, however, is to explore convergences and divergences in their textual production. When it provides a creative reading of well-known texts by Cabrera and Ortiz, the book fulfills its aims. However, every time Maguire tries to find other “contextual” or historical explanations outside the texts, her argument loses strength.

Chapter 2, “Beyond Bongos in Montmartre: Lydia Cabrera and Alejo Carpentier Imagine Blackness,” offers an interesting counterpoint between them and avant-garde French artists seduced by diverse modalities of “primitivism.” A 1929 article by Carpentier in the emblematic journal *Documents* (published in Paris between 1929 and 1931, in which musicians, artists, philosophers, and writers experienced their own first contact with surrealism through creative manipulations of the “real”) is the point of departure for Maguire’s argument about the role of “music” in producing a “primitive Other.” Afro-Cuban sounds and rhythms were an important subject of interest in other authors’ works.

Music worked as a mode of expression, by involving harmony and composition of diverse melodies and, metaphorically, as a model of composition. As Stephan Palmié (1998) has shown, the same “property” seems to have affected the treatment of “food” in the writings of Fernando Ortiz. But for Carpentier and Cabrera, influenced by the surrealist experimentation with jazz and “primitive music,” as well as for other contributors to *Documents*, Afro-Cuban sounds were not just evidence of the rich local folklore. They expressed a way of being, acting, and conceiving the world. The comprehension of these modes of expression and existence, therefore, called for a new methodology.

As a sort of scientific method and style of producing knowledge about “primitives,” ethnography was “consumed” by Cuban authors such as Cabrera and Carpentier. Maguire has argued that “as white Cubans representing blackness for both Cuban and European audiences, both Cabrera and Carpentier drew on ethnographic material in their textual construction of blackness, as ethnographic research was to some extent a basis for their knowledge of Afro-Cuban culture” (p. 68). As this statement suggests, the “representation of blackness” was the main issue at stake and, secondarily, ethnography was used as a tool to understand and depict unknown ontologies.

Although Maguire includes biographical and historical information about the authors in order to reveal their adhesion to European esthetic movements, and to show how “race” and “primitivism” were differently combined in their writings, the answers do not seem to come from the texts. “Primitivism” and “racialism” cohabited these writings and their meanings overlap. As Maguire points out, “the understanding of Afro-Cuban practices that they gained through personal fieldwork experiences is given new meaning and significance through the ways in which each writer interpolates these actual encounters with black Cubans to represent and re-create blackness in their texts” (p. 68). In contrast to both Ortiz and his interests in positivist science and collection of “evidence” and to Nicolás Guillén, who looked for a “poetic” of these expressions, both Cabrera and Carpentier made use of ethnography not as a practice but as an icon of a certain kind of surrealist encounter with the “primitive.”

The relations that these authors entertained with their “informants” cannot be found in the text, nor were they timeless. All the concepts the authors and their interlocutors manipulated in their dialogues were created in specific situations and employed for distinct purposes, and they varied through time. A terminology associated with race or nation had diverse and even opposite meanings at different moments. In some situations, their translation was even impossible. By the constant reference to “blackness” as a concept used unambiguously, Maguire loses the chance to explore and problematize the richness of the actual expressions and concepts used by the subjects themselves.

Unfortunately, she also fails to make use of specialists' commentary on the meanings of "race" and "nation" in the work of Cabrera, Ortiz, Guillén, Carpentier, and Hurston. But this weakness does not compromise her nuanced discussion of the tense relations between literature and ethnographic knowledge from a literary perspective.

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H. Adlai Murdoch

Creolizing the Metropole: Migrant Caribbean Identities in Literature and Film.

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012. xiv + 391 pp. (Paper US\$ 30.00)

H. Adlai Murdoch's *Creolizing the Metropole* posits for itself a significant remit, the exploration and articulation of migrant Caribbean identities in both French and British diasporas, and across the mediums of literature and film. This ambitious approach results in a significant contribution to both the fields of Caribbean literature and film and British and French cultural studies; its theoretically and historically grounded exploration of national, ethnic, and cultural identity is of particular note. In the opening chapters Murdoch provides a comprehensive contextualization of the term diaspora and the specific resonances of this in the context of the Caribbean. He skillfully navigates and draws together a range of theorists, including Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Rex Nettleford, Édouard Glissant, and in particular Homi Bhabha, providing an academically rigorous foundation for his literary analysis.

As Murdoch's discussion of Caribbean identity straddles both the diasporas of the Anglophone Caribbean and the French Antilles, the opening chapters are attentive to the different histories of colonization and circumstances of migration from these regions. Noting that migrants to Britain came initially as colonial subjects, as opposed to the French Antilleans who were classed, though not necessarily treated as, citizens, he accounts for the resonances that these different legal statuses had on the migrant populations and the subsequent effect of this on the articulations of Britishness and Frenchness they encountered and re-inscribe. *Creolizing the Metropole*, however, does not provide a similarly nuanced and specific exploration for the groups within these two larger migrations. While exploring at length the idea of a plurality of Caribbean identities that arise from a fragmentary region with its multiplicity of ethnicities, races, cultures, and languages, Murdoch offers only cursory comments on the differences within these groups of migrants. For example he states that "an Antiguan will recognize [in] a St Lucian or a Trinidadian at least a fellow traveler if not a compatriot, one perhaps marked by difference but also certainly by greater quotient of similarity, particularly in the context of exile or exclusion overseas" (p. 44). A sustained exploration of national and internal differences, and distinctions within the discussion of the British and French diasporas, would have added productively to his critical overview.

In the chapters that follow Murdoch takes in turn a pair of texts, either dealing specifically with one of these locations, as in Chapters 3 and 4, or as in Chapter 5 discussing examples from both the French and British Caribbean diasporas. This fifth chapter, the only one to draw on filmic examples, discusses

Horace Ové's 1986 film, *Playing Away*, alongside Pascal Légitimus's *Antilles-sur-Seine* (2000), focusing on the patterns of otherness and exclusion that are paralleled in these films. *Antilles-sur-Seine*'s use of stereotypes is recast by Murdoch as a representations strategy that "compels us to confront the debasing, reductionist nature of stereotypes" (p. 346). This "tropicalizing" strategy, Murdoch notes, is a risky one, arguably not wholly successful, and constrains the ability of the film to address the wider discourse of racial stereotypes. A particular strength of the close readings in *Creolizing the Metropole* is the discussion of the representational strategies used in the novels and films, and the ways these shape the identitarian discourses, for example Zadie Smith's use of analepsis and prolepsis in *White Teeth* (2000) through which she "deconstructs the discursive structures and assumptions undergirding inscription of colonial history" (p. 194). This approach to reading, attentive to the symbolic and material level of the stories, Murdoch argues, can uncover the ways in which texts creatively disrupt and remake concepts of identity; this in turn "can lay the discursive foundation for writing—and reading—differently" (p. 195). Through its discussions and the model it provides, *Creolizing the Metropole* demonstrates the possibilities of postcolonial literary criticism and its contribution to contestations and discourses of identitarian politics.

The literary texts that *Creolizing the Metropole* discusses are grouped by location—London in Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) and Andrea Levy's *A Small Island* (2004) in Chapter 3, and Paris in Maryse Condé's *Desirada* (2000) and Gisèle Pineau's *Exile according to Julia* (2003) in Chapter 4. In Chapter 3 Murdoch constructs a narrative that traces the changes wrought on, and by, the *Windrush* generation in Levy's *Small Island* through to the multicultural London of Smith's *White Teeth*. Though his analysis of the ways in which the diasporic communities in London both transformed their own and British identity stands firm, the choice of *Small Island* as indicative of this earlier period of migration is interesting. Murdoch argues that these texts are the site of identity formation, not merely reflections of this, and that they enact political, cultural, and linguistic interventions; this point, however, can seem less convincing by his choice of a novel written in 2004 which reimagines this period, and at times seems overly deterministic in its plot, highlighting its own retrospective construction. The structuring of the later chapters of *Creolizing the Metropole* enables a detailed and sustained exploration of the ways in which the respective texts and films reflect and shape notions of Caribbeanness, Frenchness, and Britishness. However, the excellence of the textual analysis is confined within any one chapter to two texts. Further sustained discussion of complementary or contradictory examples would have enabled a broader understanding of the ways in which the cultural production challenges, shapes,

and articulates Caribbean diasporic identity. This does not, however, distract from the importance of Murdoch's text. *Creolizing the Metropole* is a significant contribution to scholarship.

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Antonio Reyes

Voice in Political Discourse: Castro, Chávez, Bush and their Strategic Use of Language. London: Continuum, 2011. 192 pp. (Cloth US\$140.00)

Antonio Reyes draws on complementary interdisciplinary methodologies to introduce a diverse academic audience to three roles enacted by international politicians. Specifically, he explores the triangular relationship between narrator, interlocutor, and character as evoked in the political discourses of Fidel Castro, Hugo Chávez, and George W. Bush following the September 11 attacks in the United States. Reyes utilizes a sociolinguistic approach that explores Bakhtin's notion of voicing and concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and functional grammar. Two chapters that introduce the study and theoretical framework are followed by three analytical chapters, a comparative chapter, and a conclusion. The book also includes an appendix with the coding used.

The introductory chapter presents the overall argument, which “looks at the nature of political discourse to decode the roles politicians adopt by evoking specific voices to achieve their political goals” (p. 1). These political goals set up mis/alignments with social actors while also having a hegemonic effect enabling politicians to maintain power. This chapter offers a clear overview of the case-study approach by providing an explanation of the methodologies. Of particular use are the brief definitions for each of the roles evoked by the politicians. These definitions emerge from previous scholarship in sociolinguistics. The “narrator” gives objective information about the present from which he is removed. The “interlocutor” utilizes questions, vocatives, and second-person personal pronouns that create the allusion of a conversation and a sense of connection to social actors. The “character” is a “ventriloquist” (a word Reyes uses in later chapters) who evokes other voices (for instance Jesus in the speeches of Chávez) with whom he sets up an alignment and also calls on public memory. Reyes then moves on to provide a justification of the data from which his analysis is derived.

Contextualizing his data, Reyes explains the role of the United States as a global hegemonic power. Readers can infer here that international political leaders' perspectives on terrorism differ slightly, and this is later confirmed in the analysis. For instance, given that the United States is a hegemonic global power that has had a history of involvement in Latin America, Castro constructs it as a terrorist country of sorts. While the justification for the data is clear, the historical context situating these discourses could have been more thorough. Reyes's research approach is more social-scientific than rhetorical; a more ample historical context would have been useful given the

overall concepts of power and ideology that he claims are of interest to this study.

Chapter 2, "Language and Politics," calls on linguistic anthropology to formulate an argument for analyzing speeches in Spanish and to explain how this methodology reveals the triangulation of the three roles. As a trained rhetorician, I found the lack of engagement with existing work on rhetorical criticism puzzling, particularly since Reyes claims that his work is interdisciplinary. In the discipline of rhetorical studies, narrative, ideological, and Marxist criticisms are among the approaches that have been historically used to analyze political speeches. I list these particular approaches (there are many more) because they reflect the theoretical constructs mentioned by Reyes. However, to alleviate other rhetoricians' concerns, Reyes addresses Aristotle's notions of ethos, pathos, and logos and argues that these modes of persuasion are similar to the roles of narrator, interlocutor, and character but do not specifically correlate with the linguistic features or choices in the speeches he examines. Although an Aristotelian approach to analyzing political speeches is now considered antiquated, the distinction that Reyes makes is helpful in understanding how his framework differs from a rhetorical approach.

The next four chapters provide more detailed explanation and linguistic examples of how the politicians' speeches evoke the three roles that are the book's focus. Reyes indicates that they are not mutually exclusive, but can occur simultaneously in the same speech. To assist readers in understanding their distinctions and yet relatedness, Reyes puts certain quotes in bold and underlines others. Additionally, he includes figures that show the coding he used to reveal the patterning of the three roles throughout the speeches. Chapter 5, which focuses on the interlocutor's role, is particularly successful at providing ample and more extended examples.

In his comparative chapter, Reyes proposes that regardless of audience, politicians evoke these three roles. He makes his case by randomly selecting excerpts from each speech. Although he successfully challenges the academic community to look carefully at non-English political discourses, there is a missed opportunity that could unveil other roles unique to cultural context and their implications. Perhaps this is not within the scope of the book, but it could be an area for future study. Other than this, the book is a useful and interesting case-study approach to analyzing international political discourses.

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Denise deCaires Narain

Olive Senior. London: Northcote House, 2011. ix + 154 pp. (Cloth £34.00)

Although widely recognized and critiqued, Olive Senior's work has largely been discussed through interviews or in essays on individual stories or poems, comparisons with other Caribbean woman writers, or discussions of genre. Denise deCaires Narain's book, though compact, addresses the wide sweep of Senior's concerns and technical versatility through short story, verse, and non-fiction. Unfortunately it missed *Dancing Lessons*, the novel published in the same year (2011).

Narain first locates Senior in her literary medium (for example, in relation to Louise Bennett), and focuses on authorial concerns such as gender socialization. In discussing story-telling, she notes how the voices of Senior's ordinary people reflect social and racial profiles as her subjects—often children disconnected from their parents—discover their outer and inner landscapes. Intersections of gender and ethnicity in character formation are well-worn topics in critical debate, but Narain tracks contradictory expectations that inform constructions of femininity and masculinity in postcolonial societies to account for the way Senior renders ambiguous the futures of her young characters.

The first three chapters focus on Senior's short fiction; the fourth and fifth address poetry, recognizing her engagement with the natural world as our primary resource, and her interrogation of its consumption and exploitation. The final chapter shows how Senior's non-fictional works not only extend scholarship on Caribbean culture but integrate cultural and literary approaches to major themes like the contradictory circumstances of Caribbean women.

The study shows Senior unsettling assumptions (the Caribbean as happily creolized and stably hybrid, for example) and moving beyond binaries like Euro- or Afro-centeredness while nuancing tensions between the extremes. Narain notes how these forces relate to exploitation of race and culture in local politics (p. 63) and how intransigent racial hierarchy intertwines with class positions (p. 65). At the same time, she stresses Senior's refusal to privilege any particular ethnicity or to project a Caribbean hybridity that denies the integrity of its composite elements. Nor does Senior convey seamless accommodation of difference, as Narain notes: aggressive rejection of homosexuality is laid bare in Senior's portrayals of Jamaican life.

Senior's discursive achievements have been widely acknowledged but little analyzed; Narain engages with Senior's ability to manipulate both oral and scribal traditions, for example in the interface of Beccca's performance traits with the Archdeacon's strategies of reasoning (p. 23, and see Senior 1986). Although not engaging in technical linguistic analysis, Narain percep-

tively demonstrates Senior's employment of Anglophone Creole in intertextual nuances like the echo of M.G. Smith's "I saw my land in the morning" ([1938] 2004) in her representation of a creolized and rehashed version for the tourist: "Come see my land, A-oh, / that she was fair," where patriotic celebration is recast as sales pitch.

The enabling of ambivalence through manipulation of codeshifting has been discussed before (Lalla 2000), but Narain usefully investigates Senior's employment of creolized space as unsynthesized and maintaining crucial and significant gaps. She evaluates Senior's subtle manipulation of registers—contrasted, for example, with Kincaid's direct attack on colonial discourse as "the language of the criminal" (1988:31–32)—as playful and deflationary (p. 92). Here and elsewhere the critic draws insightful contrasts between Senior's codeshifting and that of poets Louise Bennett and Lorna Goodison whose Jamaican Creole Narain describes as (respectively) *performed* and *poeticized* (p. 112).

In discussing the genres in which Senior operates, Narain points to the historicizing of the Caribbean as itself an exploitative regime following on that of slavery—the sentence as coffer (p. 98, with specific reference to "Shell Blow" in Senior 2007:86):

And nothing
can stave off the relentless grinding down by
this new slavery: the collections, the recordings,
the writing of history.

Narain also categorizes some work by Senior as defined by migration, portrayals of journeys to Britain and disillusioned returns, the chaos of a suspended sense of place, of deferral and interruption and criss-crossing. She locates Senior as writing, like many of her contemporaries, "*after* the manifest failure of post-colonial Jamaican governments to deliver social justice" (p. 134), yet absolves her of writing on behalf of any group, including the nation. Narain's study is not new in associating Senior's writing specifically with the Caribbean rather than the diasporic experience, but it highlights Senior's specificity regarding actual lived experience within communities in which individual history persists and in which the encounters between the multiple strands of Caribbean reality remain significant. In discussing stories of child maturation, Narain supports Helen Gilbert (2004:24) in associating Senior's interest in the developmental narrative not so much with individual formation leading to adult identity as with the circumstances through which they must struggle to construct themselves (p. 27). Senior's clearly visualized physical Caribbean is built on attributes not shared with metropolitan locations, a "lived landscape ...

emphatically *not* that of the jet plane or skyscraper. Instead, Cockpit Country is represented as a space of enclosure or isolation, beyond the demands of modernity" (p. 70). Yet Narain notes the connections "across spatial and temporal boundaries" that blur distinctions between local and global (p. 89).

Narain's is an easy and readable style, often informal but polished. It offers the academic argument and supportive reference to current theory without excluding nonspecialist readers. A contribution to current Caribbean criticism, the study is also useful to general readers and beginning scholars.

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Christopher P. Iannini

Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. vii + 296 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

In *Fatal Revolutions*, Christopher Iannini provides a powerful argument for the importance of natural history to literary cultures of the Atlantic. His central project is to place the evolution of Atlantic literary practices in conversation with the growth of West Indian plantation economies fueled by New World slavery. Examining the rise of natural history as a discipline, practice, and literary form alongside the rapid development of the West Indian plantation as an institution and economic system, he argues for a concomitant relationship between slave-driven commerce and Enlightenment knowledge production: the practice of letters in the eighteenth century, he contends, is deeply indebted to the representational strategies and logic of natural history and, in turn, that natural history assists in the rapid expansion of commercial empires centered on slave-produced West Indian commodities. For Iannini, natural history makes legible the fact that the specimen-commodity as a new cultural form emerges alongside the redefinition of human beings as property. The link is as material and literal as it is associative: the generation of New World wealth and the mass extermination of slaves and native peoples went hand-in-hand in a process that might be characterized as a kind of morbid accumulation—a process that natural histories participate in and parallel.

Establishing the centrality of natural history writing to Atlantic and North American literary cultures also means establishing the centrality of the Caribbean to the economic, discursive, and institutional practices of the period and to North America in particular. In this sense, *Fatal Revolutions* joins a host of recent publications that seek to position the Caribbean as central to the circumatlantic movement of materials, ideas, representational practices, and peoples. For Iannini, natural history is fundamental to the establishment of these routes: it opens institutional channels and establishes representational techniques that define the way colonists and creoles relate to their world and to metropolitan authorities. As he contends, the genre of natural history was largely shaped by its long connection to the colonial Caribbean, and the Caribbean—as well as creole authorship—plays a foundational role in the development of Atlantic literary cultures and an American enlightenment.

Fatal Revolutions is divided into two parts. In a series of historicized close readings of Sir Hans Sloane's *Voyage to ... Jamaica* (Chapter 1) and Mark Catesby's *Natural History* (Chapter 2), Part I, "The Nature of Slavery," makes the persuasive claim that natural history was *the* genre that helped readers navigate

the new epistemological conditions of a transoceanic empire fueled by speculative economies and the slave trade. The formal arrangement of image, label, and descriptive text serves to attach “hidden or socioethical significance” to the object or artifact described (p. 7). The formal strategies of these “visual essays,” Iannini argues, “yielded unstable and multivalent meanings” (p. 167). Read emblematically, these texts expose a paradox central to his study—namely that natural history’s participation in a world of letters promoting civility, refinement, and reason was also deeply connected to material routes defined by slavery.

Part II, “Reaping the Early Republic,” explores the legacies of Sloane and Catesby in the works of colonial natural history writers during the revolutionary era when natural history became a genre through which to explore the possibilities of the new republic, both as a political formation and an expanding empire. These works include J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur’s *Letters from an American Farmer* and “Sketches of Jamaica and Bermudas and Other Subjects” (Chapter 3), William Bartram’s *Travels* (Chapter 4), Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapter 5), and John James Audubon’s *The Birds of America* (Chapter 6). The Caribbean, as a commercial region and as a discourse, remains central to literary production throughout the eighteenth century because, in Iannini’s words, “where the Caribbean began and ended” continued to be a contested question (p. 10). Iannini suggests that writers of the American Enlightenment utilized many of the stylistic conventions of Sloane and Catesby to represent the colonies of Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida as part of an extended Caribbean geography ripe for cultivation. While these writings draw parallels between West Indian islands and the southern mainland, they do so, he argues, with the hope of also establishing key differences: later natural histories promoted the potential of North American material resources as key to the expansion of an empire founded on republican liberty rather than the slave economies of the Caribbean. While seeking to remain centered on the Greater Caribbean, *Fatal Revolutions* is also a book about the role of the West Indies in the writing of the American Enlightenment.

This is an ambitious book that will make path-breaking contributions to the study of early Atlantic literary culture, economy, and society. Indeed, one of Iannini’s most important contributions is the way he links Enlightenment thinking to the development of plantation labor and production regimes. As a literary historian, he provides strong, historicized close readings of natural history as a genre; however, it is also a text with interdisciplinary breadth, relying on extensive archival research and demonstrating historical depth. At times, the focus on printed texts produced by primarily elite writers for cosmopolitan readers means that this is a slightly one-sided account; stories told from slaves’ point

of view, including stories about their specific experiences, are once again left for another scholar to tell. Yet *Fatal Revolutions* is a study deeply informed by the black Atlantic routes of Paul Gilroy's work, showing how those routes were also the purveyors of white elite print culture. It is a book that has many moving parts and lines of enquiry—the history of a genre, the rise of credit, West Indian plantation, New World slavery, the Age of Revolution, science writing and enlightenment—but perhaps this is also what makes it such a rich study.

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Helen Oakley

From Revolution to Migration: A Study of Contemporary Cuban and Cuban-American Crime Fiction. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012. xiv + 186 pp. (Paper US\$ 53.95)

Perhaps more than in any other Latin American country, crime fiction has played an important role in recent Cuban literature and society. Following Fidel Castro's (in)famous speech at the closure of the "Primer Congreso Nacional de Educación y Cultura" in April 1971, literature came to be perceived as a weapon of the Cuban Revolution. As a result, tight control of journals, publishing houses, and literary awards followed, as well as strenuous promotion of specific genres, like crime fiction, considered especially appropriate in the Revolution's fight against capitalism. In 1972, the MININT (Internal Affairs Ministry, which included Cuban Intelligence Services) created a literary award to stimulate the production of crime fiction in the country; this award, coupled with the genre's promotion by the Revolutionary cultural officials, made crime fiction enormously popular in Cuba.

Due to both the popularity and the quality of much of the crime fiction written by Cubans and Cuban Americans in the past two decades, a number of valuable critical studies have been published in the last few years. Before Helen Oakley's book, however, no one had explored the relationship between the United States and Cuba as seen by Cuban and Cuban-American writers, so this thoroughly researched and carefully written monograph is particularly welcome.

The first chapter of *From Revolution to Migration* summarizes the origins and development of Cuban and Cuban-American crime fiction; the remaining four are devoted to the crime fiction of Leonardo Padura, José Latour, Alex Abella, and Carolina García-Aguilera. A somewhat too brief preface and conclusion complete the volume.

The first chapter reads extremely well, and Oakley should be commended for not being overwhelmed by the large number of sources she has reviewed. She discusses the use of British and American models in Latin American crime fiction, a topic that she revisits throughout her book. She then turns to some of the most influential studies in this area, written by Jorge Luis Borges, Carlos Monsiváis, Ilan Stavans, Ana María Amar, Persephone Braham, and Glen S. Close, among others. Finally, she focuses on Cuban crime fiction, tracing its history, especially during the revolutionary period, with clarity. Both experts in the topic and newcomers will find this chapter very useful, and it will no doubt become a staple reading in relevant university courses.

In Chapter 2, however, Oakley makes the puzzling decision to include writer Leonardo Padura in her study. Although Padura is undoubtedly the most suc-

successful Cuban crime fiction writer and has, more or less singlehandedly, transformed Cuban crime fiction with his *Cuatro Estaciones* tetralogy, his attention to U.S.-Cuban relationships and migratory issues—the main focus of Oakley's study—is minimal. In contrast, the novels of Jose Latour, Alex Abella, and Carolina García-Aguilera deal extensively with the relationship between the United States and Cuba, and the changing identity of first and second generation Cuban migrants. Possibly not unrelated to this issue, Oakley refers rather excessively to other studies of Padura's novels, at times almost drowning out her own voice. The following three chapters are quite different, offering numerous interesting insights into the authors analyzed and their representation of Cuban-U.S. relationships and exilic and migratory experiences.

In her reading of crime fiction by Jose Latour, a Cuban-born author who migrated in the 1990s, first to the United States and then to Canada where he currently lives, Oakley discusses *Outcast* (1999), *Havana Best Friends* (2002), and *Comrades in Miami* (2005) with nicely placed references to Latour's only essay to date, *Postcommunist CUBA Poscomunista* (2005). As she points out, Latour "spans the categories of Cuban, Cuban American, and Cuban exile" (p. 76), a tension he clearly reflects in his novels, offering readers plenty of food for thought. Her discussion of the themes of the journey and the trauma of emigration, ethnic identity, and sibling rivalry are particularly impressive, as is her exploration of the reference to Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and its link to Fernández Retamar's *Caliban*, José Enriquez Rodó's *Ariel*, and the Revolutionary ideology.

Oakley's takes on Abella's Charlie Morell and García-Aguilera's Lupe Soriano series are also interesting. She pays special attention to Abella's use of magical realism (certainly innovative in a genre so often stifled by convention), the representation of Afro-Cuban religions and black characters, and the detective's journey of discovery of his own ethnic identity throughout the series. For me, the highlight of this book is the chapter on García-Aguilera—a thorough discussion of a detective series that has been labelled as both feminist and antifeminist, and in which the representation of the so-called "generation 1.5" (those who were born in Cuba, but migrated to the United States as children) is equally problematic. Oakley's effort to avoid taking a black or white stance on García-Aguilera's series as feminist or antifeminist, conservative or liberal, allows for the possibility that both attitudes can co-exist in her writing. The result is a refreshingly subtle and convincing study that will help readers appreciate the contradictions in García-Aguilera's crime fiction.

From Revolution to Migration is a welcome addition to the study of Cuban and Cuban-American crime fiction, establishing clear links and adding to the ongoing debate on postnationality and cultural hybridity. It will be useful for

experts in the field, university students, and readers interested in constructions of masculinity, femininity and ethnic identity.

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Juan R. Valdez

Tracing Dominican Identity: The Writings of Pedro Henríquez Ureña. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. ix + 227 pp. (Cloth US\$85.00)

Tracing Dominican Identity tells an enormously important story about the uses of linguistics to promote exclusionary, white supremacist, militantly Eurocentric ideas of race and nation in Hispanophone areas of the Americas. University of Wyoming Professor Juan Valdez focuses on the intellectual biography and scholarly trajectory of the eminent Dominican philologist Pedro Henríquez Ureña who, having left his homeland in 1901 to return only briefly in 1911 and once again for eighteen months in 1931–32, died in Argentina in 1945. But one gets the sense that the chronology and the conceptual framework that Valdez has outlined can without radical adjustment fit the career of many a prominent linguist in the modern history of the Hispanophone Caribbean and Latin America.

At one point he pits Henríquez Ureña, who placed great emphasis on dismissing the influence of the black legacy on Dominican Spanish, against a renowned contemporary, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, who sought to raise awareness about the role of “afronegrismos” in Cuban speech (pp. 155–157). But he omits reference to the fact that Ortiz, a proponent of a view of national identity that comes to terms with the mixture of European and African attributes in cultural crossings of Cuban plantation society, had also gone through a negrophobic period, as his early study *Los negros brujos* (1906) virulently illustrates. Indeed, the evolution of Ortiz from the cultural tenets of white supremacy to those of creolization (or *transculturation* in his nomenclature) would lend credence to Valdez’s discursive move in his conclusion, where he speculates, on the basis of some of Henríquez Ureña’s reflections shortly before his death, that in matters of race and cultural identity, the Dominican philologist “seemed open to reconsidering his convictions and ideas of the intellectual climate and ideological matrix from which his previous work had emerged” (p. 166). Negrophobia and anti-Amerindian sentiments were the bane of the Latin American intelligentsia from the start of independence through at least the 1960s because the colonial transaction that had prevailed up to the moment of nascent sovereignty had vilified black and indigenous subjects, and the republics that ensued did not pursue an effort to dismantle colonial racialization. Rare, therefore, was the cultural theorist in the nation-building period who did not voice a Eurocentric vision.

Valdez competently maps Henríquez Ureña’s early years and his rise to the summit of intellectual prestige in Latin America and even in Spain (Chapter 1). He establishes his own command of the pertinent bibliography, surveying

the ideologies prevalent in the history of ideas through an account of scholarship in the discipline of linguistics (Chapter 2). He quite compellingly narrates the primacy of ideas about language, steeped in venerated Hispanic legacy, in the configuration of notions of national belonging and collective destiny in the Dominican Republic and the other countries of Latin America during the societies' formative stages (Chapter 3). He covers Henríquez Ureña's fervent commitment to the grand tradition of Hispanic linguistics in Latin America and the pervasive influence of the Spanish philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal on his thought (Chapter 4). Valdez devotes a tour de force section to documenting Henríquez Ureña's agonistic wrestling with the task of demonstrating the purely Castilian and Andalusian base of Dominican Spanish, which he describes as the "whitening" of the nation's identity (Chapter 5). *Tracing Dominican Identity* closes with a brief conclusion that speculates about the direction in which Henríquez Ureña's scholarship would have gone had his life not ended at age sixty-one. Valdez gives us reason to consider that perhaps this great Dominican humanist, like Ortiz, his Cuban counterpart, had begun to move closer to those other Caribbean thinkers who in the 1940s had come to terms with their African heritage and had begun to resignify its value as an indispensable asset of the region's culture.

As a trained linguist, Valdez has made an important contribution to the study of the legacy of Henríquez Ureña, complementing the invaluable work of literary scholar Arcadio Díaz Quiñones, whose chapter on Henríquez Ureña in *Sobre los principios: La tradición y los intelectuales caribeños* (2006) enormously advances the exploration of the life, glory, and yearnings of this enigmatic and brilliant Dominican humanist. University of Toronto Hispanist Néstor E. Rodríguez has for several years been mining as yet unpublished texts by Henríquez Ureña which, as he reports, complicate the standard versions of his subject's political trajectory. Independent scholar Miguel Mena, working out of Berlin, has invested much time and effort in organizing Henríquez Ureña's extant oeuvre and recovering biographical details connected to the constraints, both economic and social, under which he produced his impressive work. Danny Mendez, an assistant professor of Spanish at Michigan State University, considers Henríquez Ureña one of the "displaced" writers in his *Narratives of Displacement in Dominican Literature* (2012). *Tracing Dominican Identity* firmly enters the growing field of the study of the complex legacy of the remarkable Dominican humanist in a new way. I refer here to the effort spearheaded by Díaz Quiñones and several Dominican academics located outside Latin America who have tended to approach their subject free of the hagiographic impulse that had long dominated the bibliography on Henríquez Ureña. Thanks to this recent scholarly development we are now witnessing a truly in-depth explo-

ration of the inestimable contributions this eminent man of letters made to our understanding of Dominican and Latin American cultural production without overlooking the exclusionary and prejudicial implications of the views of society, identity, and civilization that he upheld.

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José Manuel Cruz Rodriguez

Analyse du discours littéraire antillais. Le roman de la Plantation: Glissant et Confiant. Saarbrücken, Germany: Editions universitaires européennes, 2010. 514 pp. (Paper €98.00)

This is a remarkable study for several reasons. First, it will strike readers of French or Francophone Caribbean studies as a relic of a bygone era of French or French-influenced literary criticism, more specifically the era of High Structuralism. Secondly, it singles out for study a restricted but particularly pertinent and rich topos, namely the world of the plantation as constructed in two “plantation novels”—Édouard Glissant’s *La Case du commandeur* and Raphaël Confiant’s *Commandeur du sucre*.

The book’s critical methodology is unapologetically anachronistic, and the rather strange order in which the inauspiciously grandiose and inaccurately general title upstages the far more interesting and apposite subtitle bears witness to the pretensions of an earlier era of literary criticism. Moreover, the methodology appears at first sight to be more reminiscent of the self-parodying “scientificism” of the “isotopie”-wielding certainties of the Greimas School of reading than of the more restrained, less technically showy approach practiced by other structuralist or formalist critics such as Tzvetan Todorov or Roland Barthes. It is perhaps no accident that the Greimas School has enjoyed little or no afterlife or posterity, whereas the work of Todorov (and of Barthes to a lesser extent only because of his untimely death) evolved in a multiplicity of poststructuralist directions, bringing to the fore the (de-)construction of the writing, and reading, subject.

The methodology used here to explore the Martinican plantation novel—the “SISAD tool” (*Système Informatique de Support à l’Analyse du Discours*)—is explained in the study’s jargon-heavy introduction and illustrated in the voluminous appendices. Readers who have no direct experience of the Structuralist “Terreur” of the 1970s may be either more or less skeptical about the value of this methodology than those who do. Most readers, however, will surely wonder whether they are being asked to use an axe to crack open a chestnut. Yet it does become clear as one advances through the book that the pertinence of the topos overrides most, if not all, of one’s impatience with the scientific jargon and paraphernalia such as grids, pie-charts, graphs, etc.

In fact, the meticulous reading that allows Cruz Rodriguez to present an exhaustive, statistical lexical and semantic survey of the literary “construction” or “representation” of a world system, of its operations and its values, its appearance, its forms, and its structures and their interrelations, is fascinating in its attention to detail. It builds up a thorough and suggestive literary “cadastre”

of the two plantation novels, underwritten as they are by the historical and cultural visions and values of *antillanité* and *créolité* respectively. The painstaking survey is based on the identification, classification, and analysis of what are termed “GN [Groupes nominaux] en force du Nommer, de l’Espace et du Temps” (vocabulary items concerning naming, space and time).

Édouard Glissant is the writer who (in his particularly seminal 1981 collection of essays, *Le Discours antillais*) most trenchantly identified the plantation as the cultural heartland not just of the Caribbean, but of what he called the *autre Amérique*—that belt extending from the U.S. “deep South” down into South America, via Central America and the Caribbean. In other words, he distinguished as “other” or “apart” that vast area of the so-called New World that was centered on the economy of plantation slavery—the crucible in which creole culture developed its most potent or intense manifestations. The world of the plantation is arguably more central to Glissant’s novels than to those of the next generation of Martinican and Guadeloupean novelists, including writers of the *créolité* generation who were so obviously inspired by his work, but whose primary concern seems to be rather with the Caribbean urban scene.

Cruz Rodriguez chooses a significant corpus. If *La Case du commandeur* is the obvious choice from Glissant’s novels for his study, a novel by Raphaël Confiant, equally appropriate in that its title echoes Glissant’s, is nonetheless striking. First, it confirms that, although Patrick Chamoiseau (the object of far more study in the English-speaking world than Confiant) is a writer whose work is more like that of Glissant from the perspective of its language (its layering, its depth, and its poetic quality), it is a novel by Confiant that provides the clearer focus on the plantation universe specifically. This in turn raises another question: is Cruz Rodriguez’s reading or methodology able to discern differences in the specifically literary or poetic quality of the language of Glissant and Confiant respectively? Perhaps not. But it is able to signal significant similarities and differences in the “identity discourse” or in the “world view” presented in the two novels. Moreover, the book’s conclusions are not, perhaps, as interesting as the revealing emphases and nuances turned up as “results” of the minute, statistical lexico-semantic analysis. In that respect, the book is a valuable tool for literary critics—not only a useful contribution to the field of Caribbean Studies, but also a generous one.

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Eva Sansavior

Maryse Condé and the Space of Literature. Leeds, U.K.: Maney, 2012. x + 137 pp.
(Cloth US\$75.00)

In a key 1993 essay, Maryse Condé called for the liberation of West Indian literature from political and aesthetic dictates that stifle creativity, advocating a vision of literature summed up in a quotation from *Le livre à venir* by French philosopher and literary theorist Maurice Blanchot: “The essence of literature is to escape any fundamental determination, any assertion which could stabilize it or even fix it. It is never already there, it is always to be found and invented again” (in Sansavior, p. 16). Taking this defense of literary freedom as a point of departure, Eva Sansavior’s tightly-crafted, perceptive study maps Condé’s interventions into and across French, Francophone, postcolonial, and international modernist debates, using spatial metaphors to highlight the importance of boundary crossing in Condé’s efforts “to define a socially responsible and socially situated literary freedom” (p. 17). The “space of literature,” Sansavior’s title concept, recalls Blanchot’s use of the term as it designates here the specificity of the literary (as a discourse irreducible to politics).

In highlighting Condé’s resistance to readings that would impose preconceived political expectations or narratives on her work, Sansavior aligns herself with much recent criticism of Condé’s writing. The originality of her study lies, however, in its examination of space as utopian opening or nonplace. If Condé maintains a skeptical attitude toward identity politics or commonly held conceptions of the writer as representative of a collectivity, she remains committed, Sansavior argues, to literature’s role in re-imagining such conceptions, a “re-imagining ... marked by a perhaps necessarily unresolved emotional and intellectual implication in the very categories that are assumed to be outmoded” (p. 120). Sansavior’s analysis of Condé’s utopian commitment to transformation through creative assimilation also succeeds because it relies on a series of careful, close readings that reference past scholarship productively, take account of recent developments in French and Francophone studies, and bring new perspectives to selected novels and interviews.

Sansavior’s introduction focuses on the emergence of Condé’s concern for the relationship between literature and politics—a concern marking Francophone postcolonial studies currently as well—within a literary and critical space shaped by two dominant critiques of Jean-Paul Sartre’s idea of *littérature engagée*, or politically committed writing. The first of these takes up Pierre Bourdieu’s critique of the (re)production of aesthetic value, while the second, including the work of Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and Blanchot, defends the specificity of literature against attempts to appropriate it for programmatic

political ends. Sansavior locates her own perspective alongside work that has interrogated the gap between these positions, most notably, that of Graham Huggan, Deepika Bahri, and Nicholas Harrison.

Considered in relation to this map, Condé's 1993 essay "Order, Disorder, Freedom and the West Indian Writer" can be read as a manifesto that critiques common conceptions of commitment while also pointing to potential transformations of the political through a defense of literary freedom. Sansavior's first chapter pursues the problem of freedom through an examination of Condé's numerous interviews, a dimension of her body of work that has received less extended critical attention. Considered "sites of irreducible strangeness" (p. 31), Condé's interviews serve as entry points into an examination of an authorial performance in which notions of marginality and the personal are deployed ambiguously and strategically in order to prevent the foreclosure of meaning in readings of her work and her life. The following chapters examine selected individual texts: Condé's first novel, *En attendant le bonheur* (originally titled *Heremakhonon* in both the 1976 French original and the English translation); *Moi Tituba, sorcière ... Noire de Salem* (1986, translated as *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem*); Condé's 1999 autobiography, *Le Cœur à rire et à pleurer: Contes vrais de mon enfance* (*Tales from the Heart: True Stories from My Childhood*); the 1992 novel *Les Derniers Rois mages* (*The Last of the African Kings*); and her 1997 novel, *Desirada*. Each of these chapters provides succinct, focused readings that foreground new perspectives. Among these are Sansavior's discussion of "making space" in the interview, her re-reading of *En attendant le Bonheur* as a deferral, rather than outright rejection, of identity and collective affiliation, and her attention, in her analysis of *Moi Tituba*, to the *testimonio* genre.

The book's conclusion presents a brief but particularly helpful recapitulation and synthesis of the study that draws out its most important insights. These hinge broadly on the mapping of *engagement* discussed above, but more specifically on the notion of the provisional in Condé's conception of subjectivity and political action. Provisional modes of action recognize the way in which identities are "circumscribed by existing myths," yet open to refashioning (p. 113). Stressing Condé's staging of "an open-ended, ongoing movement *within* and *between* a number of provisional positions" (p. 61) and the use of "creative identifications" (p. 110), Sansavior ultimately argues that Condé's work proposes "an alternative vision of literary engagement" committed to freeing the individual reader to re-imagine constrictive social categories. This work is thus utopian in the dual etymological sense of the term: it is invested in the good and looks forward to sociopolitical change, while insisting on the not-yet-achieved character of this future in its refusal to project these re-imaginings on behalf of the reader.

In short, *Maryse Condé and the Space of Literature* represents an eloquent and welcome addition to Condé scholarship and to efforts to rethink, rather than rule out, the possibilities for a re-engaged literary practice today.

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Paul Hendrickson

Hemingway's Boat: Everything He Loved in Life, and Lost, 1934–1961. New York: Knopf, 2011. viii + 532 pp. (Cloth US\$30.00)

This is an unusual and fascinating book—not quite biography, but rather “an interpretation, an evocation, with other lives streaming in” (p. 472). It ranges selectively through Hemingway’s life, mainly focusing on the last twenty-seven years. In a boldly successful move, it uses *Pilar*, the boat Hemingway bought in 1934, which he so loved, as a lynch-pin—a way into his relationships, his contradictions, his values, strengths and failings, and final spiral of disintegration. *Hemingway's Boat* explores the complex of ideas raised by its subject-matter—ideas of “fishing, friendship, and fatherhood, and love of water, and what it means to be masculine in our culture, and the notion of being boat-struck ... and how the deep good in us is often matched only by the perverse bad in us, and—not least—about the damnable way our demons seem to end up following us, even or especially when we think we’ve escaped them” (p. 13).

Hendrickson starts with a 2005 visit to Cuba, with *Pilar*, “like some old and gasping browned-out whale” (p. 7), up on blocks in the grounds of the Finca Vigía, Hemingway’s main home from 1939 to 1960. (In 1959, Hemingway would say that he “thought of himself as a true Cuban,” and kiss the national flag [p. 460]). He then goes back to trace the history of her purchase, the uses to which Hemingway put her, the people who sailed her, and her meaning in Hemingway’s life. Hendrickson’s prologue lets us know immediately that this is not to be a standard biography with a distanced and objective author. He is, rather, an active presence throughout the book, prompting readers with his own thoughts, feelings, and speculations. And while he never spares Hemingway, being crystal clear about the bad as well as the good in him, his attitude is sympathetic—depicting a “kind and good man” (the words come from *Across the River and into the Trees*) who “seemed to wish always to betray, sabotage” his deepest self (p. 356). Even as he recognizes the dangers of the move from fiction to biography, the judgment is allowed to stand.

The book is superbly researched and beautifully written, moving between short italicized, almost novelistic, prologues to a fuller exposition of each of its particular sections. Hendrickson has trawled through a wide variety of archives and documents (“letters ... photographs ... tinny wire recordings converted to audio recordings” [p. 472]) for his material. He knows the Hemingway criticism—despite his scepticism about much of it (p. 13). But his key achievement has been to hunt down those who sailed with Hemingway (or their descendants), to tease out their stories, their versions of him. He makes good use, too, of books written by Hemingway family members, and other personal

testimonies, too often passed over. The portrait of Hemingway that emerges has, consequently, unusual depth and texture, illustrating a particularly complex man whose destructiveness in relationships frequently overwhelmed the sensitivity, care, and generosity that also characterized him.

The germ of the book lies in Hendrickson's chance meeting with Leicester Hemingway (Ernest's younger brother) in 1980 and his *Washington Post* interviews with Hemingway's three sons in 1987. His exploration of Hemingway's relationship with two men in particular covers new or previously ignored ground. Arnold Samuelson ("Maestro" in Hemingway's nick-name for him) was a young hobo / would-be writer, who turned up at Hemingway's Key West house in May 1934 and was given a job on the *Pilar*—an eighteen-month period that affected the whole future trajectory of his life. Hendrickson gives Arnold's mini-biography, using *With Hemingway*, the memoir published after his death, to add to Hemingway's own story. The frustrations and eccentricities of Arnold's post-Hemingway life lead him to a judgment that applies to Hemingway too: "Any person's existence is a novel of riddles within riddles" (p. 130). Walter Houk's story is a happier one. Hendrickson finds Houk, "an authentic living Hemingway witness," more or less by "blind luck" (p. 303). A young American diplomat in Havana in the early 1950s, Walter was in love with Hemingway's part-time American assistant. His story of Hemingway's generosity and graciousness (he and his wife Mary hosted the couple's wedding reception at the Finca Vigía) serves as some corrective to the boorishness, insensitivity, and emotional violence of which he was also all too capable at the time. Houk's verdict that "We should not allow [Hemingway's] faults to overshadow the accomplishments" (p. 303) is one Hendrickson shares.

Hemingway's faults, his inability—whatever his better intentions—to give the right kind of support to those close to him, emerge most clearly in the story of Gregory (Gigi), his youngest son. This final section of the book threatens, in its moving intensity, to hijack all that has come before. Gregory's long history of transvestism resulted in a fractious relationship with his father. Both may have played some unwitting part in the sudden death of Hemingway's second wife, Pauline, which followed Gregory's arrest for entering a women's rest room in drag, and—in consequence—a violent telephone argument between Pauline and Ernest. Hemingway's contempt for his son was, however, one part of much more complicated feelings, not just genuine concern but also, most probably, a recognition of the chord Gregory's transgressive activities struck with his own sexual identity. To read about the relationship, and Gregory's death in 2001, is to feel only pity and sadness. As Hendrickson writes elsewhere in the book, such are "The terrible things we do and hand to our children wittingly and unwittingly" (p. 129).

This is a powerful and moving book. Due to space constraints, other topics must go unexamined, particularly the big-game fishing for which *Pilar* was mainly used. Hemingway's imagination was deeply nostalgic for a previously unspoiled American environment, and *Pilar* stood in part not for an impossible going further back but for a "go[ing] further out" (Hemingway spoke of wanting "to wash myself out clean with the Gulf Stream") (pp. 244, 288). But by the end of his life even this avenue had closed to him. Only suicide was left.

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Bénédicte Ledent & Daria Tunca (eds.)

Caryl Phillips: Writing in the Key of Life. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2012. xxi + 441 pp. (Cloth US\$124.00)

Bénédicte Ledent has previously done much to promote the work of Caryl Phillips. This recent effort, co-edited with Daria Tunca, successfully fills a gap in scholarship by providing the first critical collection on this noted author. Ledent and Tunca rightfully emphasize the breadth of Phillips's output, engaging with his less easily categorized texts—those traversing the boundary between fiction and fact—and his earlier writings, as well as better-known works. The collection opens with two interesting pieces by Phillips himself, with “Colour Me English,” in particular, providing a narrative of his development from isolated black schoolboy in northern England to today's cosmopolitan author. Phillips asserts his passionate belief “in the moral capacity of fiction to wrench us out of our ideological burrows and force us to engage with a world that is clumsily transforming itself” (p. 21). In keeping with a number of other contemporary British writers—like Zadie Smith or Gautam Malkani—Phillips also emphasizes how multiculturalism has “*already* happened” (p. 19), while his insistence on literature being a form that “embraces and celebrates a place of no truths” (p. 21) contextualizes his persistent novelistic reluctance to judge his own characters.

The collection is ordered in five parts, with sections such as “Diasporas” or “Race and Masks” speaking to the central concerns of Phillips's work, while “Autobiography, Fact and Fiction” suggests a number of new perspectives on his writing. Although perhaps a little too effusive in its praise of Phillips, Renée Schattelman's essay discusses productively his recorded interviews, emphasizing the consistency with which certain concerns recur. In so doing, she implicitly asks whether the interview output of some authors is of greater analytical utility than others. A number of the essays explore the formal techniques of Phillips's writing, emphasizing how stylistic disruptions aid his representation of lives in flux. In her discussion of Phillips's narrative approach in *Foreigners* (2007), Ledent frames the book as formally antideterministic, its mingling of fact and fiction constituting a “narrative individualization” which may “be read as a way of paying respect to the singularity” of his characters (p. 84). Wendy Knepper highlights the importance of water to Phillips's conceptual framework and places greater emphasis than some commentators on his Caribbean connections. Her analysis of Phillips's “poetic of disorientation” (p. 223) provides a stimulating account of the ambivalent reading experience frequently offered by his books. Placing Phillips's work in the context of trauma studies, Stef Craps successfully argues that the novels *Higher Ground* (1989) and *The*

Nature of Blood (1997) combine both “affect and critical awareness” (p. 171), something that, in Craps’s view, much work on trauma fails to do. She suggests that it is through Phillips’s use of intertextuality, that the reader is continually reminded “of his or her, and the author’s own distance” from the experiences of the characters (p. 169), making the impossibility of appropriating their trauma clear. In her discussion of *A Distant Shore* (2003), Allesandra Di Maio highlights Phillips’s power as cultural commentator, when she emphasizes his claim—made in the essay “Kingdom of the Blind”—that “two sorts of ‘national literary canons’” have formed in the U.K., “one white, mostly blind to Britain’s multiracial society, and a non-white one, challenging the traditional notion of a homogenous British national literature” (p. 250).

One of the strengths of this collection, its breadth, is also one of its weaknesses as, despite the fact that many interesting points are made, there are times when greater analytical depth would have been beneficial. Although the section discussing Phillips in relation to other authors offers a number of insights (not least John McLeod’s essay on Phillips’s ambivalent engagement with Naipaul), the collection would have benefited from considering his work in light of current trends in both Caribbean and black British literary production. Much analysis of contemporary Caribbean fiction, for example, has dwelt on issues of gender and sexuality and it is notable that this collection fails to address such concerns in Phillips’s work, despite his having, according to Schatteman, admitted to being “drawn to women’s viewpoints,” partly because “gender issues are so inextricably tied to issues of race and class” (p. 48). Dave Gunning’s insightful comparison of Phillips’s *Dancing in the Dark* (2005) with Percival Everett’s 2001 novel, *Erasure*, reinforces the benefits of comparing the author to his contemporaries, as it productively relates Phillips’s concerns about the politics of representation to an African American context. The section “Britain and Its ‘Others’” includes five essays on *A Distant Shore*, which seems too heavy a weighting. The fact that many of the contributors are based at European institutions also raises questions about the extent to which the tenor of the collection would have shifted with greater involvement from North American or Caribbean-based scholars. Similarly, a number of essays are by those who have written previously on Phillips. While this expertise has its obvious advantages, there might also have been gains from seeking more essays from people new to Phillips’s work. Finally, the variance between the writing styles of different contributors is too great at points and some stylistic excesses could have been moderated. Overall, however, this is a worthwhile addition to the growing body of scholarship on this fascinating—and not always fully understood—writer.

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Kit Candlin

The Last Caribbean Frontier, 1795–1815. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
xxvi + 247 pp. (Cloth US\$85.00)

In 1802 George Canning warned that if the newly ceded island of Trinidad were cultivated to the same level as Jamaica, one million slaves would be poured into its “forests and morasses.” As Kit Candlin shows in this excellent study, the colonies of the southern Caribbean, the “last frontier” of British Atlantic expansion, have often been overlooked in general assessments of race and “class” in the circum-Caribbean. The people of Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, and Demerara inhabited a transient, cosmopolitan world of movement and settlement. Candlin vividly captures the fluid instability of a region perched on the edge of competing empires. He provides one chapter each for Grenada and Demerara, but concentrates mainly on Trinidad.

As Candlin notes, Spain’s capitulation of Trinidad in 1797 marked the first step in the eventual break-up of Spain’s American empire. Britain inherited a multinational colony characterized by a rapidly growing plantation economy. Free coloreds, many of whom possessed republican sympathies, composed the majority of Trinidad’s free population. Grenada’s 1795 revolution, the subject of Chapter 1, amply illustrates the danger, as thousands of free coloreds led by Julien Fédon rallied to the republican standard. In defeat, Fédon may himself have sought refuge in Trinidad’s back country, assisted by a network of kin who had previously moved from Grenada. Two years later, Trinidad’s first British governor, Thomas Picton, arrived to face a difficult situation. Not surprisingly, he turned to the colony’s plantocracy, now dominated by French émigrés, for guidance and support.

Chapter 4 details the relationship between Picton and St. Hilaire Begorrat, a wealthy French planter from Martinique who had established his family in the valley of Diego Martin. Candlin stresses the new governor’s vulnerability, arguing that his brutal regime arose partially from his dependence on planters such as Begorrat. Thus it was the *grands blancs* from Martinique and St. Domingue who instigated the poisoning commissions that condemned enslaved persons accused of practicing obeah and witchcraft to be burned alive. As Diane Paton observes, the crime of obeah was a construction of the law and its enforcement. Yet law, whether Spanish or British, was in short supply at Trinidad. In 1801 Begorrat, in his role as *alcalde*, supervised the torture of Louisa Calderon in order to extract criminal evidence from this young free woman of color. Eventually Picton was to stand trial at King’s Bench in London for having authorized Calderon’s torture. Candlin provides a chapter on poisoning and planters’ paranoid fears, stressing the insecurity of the planters’ regime. Another chapter

takes up Calderon's case, focusing not on the metropolitan scandal arising from the former governor's trial but teasing from the legal records the personal histories of free coloreds such as Louisa and her mother Maria.

Slavery forms the background to this study. Candlin's intention is, however, to highlight "some of the competing worlds that existed in and around the appalling reality of chattel slavery," and to shift attention to "a different nexus from the norm," to a set of colonies "dominated by a different set of stories" (p. 176). The study concerns the lives of those who "really made empire," people born into this turbulent colonial setting, rather than the agents sent out from London. Perhaps the most original and important contribution Candlin makes to the field of Caribbean studies is found in his analysis of the lives of free coloreds, particularly women. He introduces Mrs. Dolly Thomas, "the Queen of Demerara," piecing together the life of a "'free negress,'" whose wheeling and dealing, and brokering of relationships between her daughters and men of means, produced an extended family of considerable wealth. Born in Montserrat, as a manumitted slave she moved between Grenada and Demerara. She made her fortune in the former Dutch colony, largely by hiring out slaves, and ended her long life as a resident of London's fashionable Kensington district. Rosetta Smith, governor Picton's mistress and mother of his four children, provides a second example of an enterprising free woman of color able to exploit the opportunities presented by the rough-and-tumble of the south Atlantic.

Despite some minor errors of fact, Candlin proves himself a resourceful researcher. In the case of Rosetta Smith, he documents her extensive business dealings through the "Books" of Spanish Protocols, a set of business records compiled between 1787 and 1813, for the municipality of Port of Spain. From these rarely used business lists, he shows Smith, a woman excoriated by British white residents, to have been an active, if not ruthless, businesswoman. She bought and sold slaves, becoming a substantial slave owner in her own right. Dolly Thomas and Rosetta Smith were remarkably successful women, hardly the norm. More typical were the refugees who fled the chaos of the Venezuelan civil war. Candlin sheds light on the lives of hundreds of such men, women, and children who appear in the harbor records for Port of Spain, recorded between 1814 and 1816. From the fragmentary evidence, he concludes that most of the poor women who sought sanctuary "had lived largely outside of men and marriage in transient, enterprising and independent ways" (p. 161). He emphasizes these women's self-reliance and agency, rather than the racial and economic disadvantages against which they struggled. This is a compelling story about women and men who usually appear only at the edges of the historical record, and about the colonial frontiers across which they travelled and lived.

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Mary Chamberlain

Empire and Nation-building in the Caribbean: Barbados, 1937–1966. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2010. vii + 216 pp. (Cloth US\$ 89.95)

The focus of this book is on nation building. It is as much about British visions of the colonial nation as it is about the Caribbean's sense of independence. Mary Chamberlain argues: "The histories which prioritise the labour movement in the struggle to build a nation tell a limited story, for trade union membership was not a mass membership" (p. 160). Unfortunately, this claim misses the point that class consciousness developed as a result of labor struggles, that members of the labor movement were among the most politicized groups of people, and that the level of organization and regional solidarity was located nowhere else at the time. Nevertheless, Chamberlain is careful to address the labor conditions of Barbados in the early 1930s. For her the economic conditions in the 1930s were gloomy. Labor conditions were poor, few were educated, and malnutrition was rampant. "Barbados was one of the poorest of Britain's territories in the Caribbean, the slums of Bridgetown among the worst" (p. 1). These problems were compounded by a pernicious racial system and a powerful plantation oligarchy to which many black Barbadians were beholden.

Chamberlain places the problems of labor in Barbados, and the consequent unrest in the island, in the broader context of the industrial climate of the Caribbean, as well as the regional and international calls for Federation and independence. In the case of Barbados, she examines the labor scene through the mobilization of the fiery, political figure of Clement Payne, the Trinidadian labor organizer, who became a leader in the movement to improve conditions of work in Barbados. It was Payne's arrest and subsequent deportation for an immigration violation that set off days of rioting and looting. If Payne has come to symbolize a radical tradition in Barbados, readers who are unfamiliar with the existence of such a tradition on the island would benefit from Chamberlain's discussion of other radicals such as Richard B. Moore, Ulrick Grant, Clennell Wickham, and Wynter Crawford. It may be her perspective on labor militancy that leads her to neglect the significant contribution of the labor organizer T.T. Lewis in her coverage of leading radicals in Barbados, most of whom subscribed to notions of regionalism and Federation. She stresses however, that the concept of Federation was born in the transnational imaginary of Caribbean people in the diaspora "and soon acquired status as a kind of mythical homeland" (pp. 184–185). In addressing these matters, she also manages to take some of the gloss off the more conservative Grantley Adams, the first and only prime minister of the Federation.

In "Gender and the Moral Economy," Chamberlain provides insights into the way women manage scarce resources and juggle the demands of work and family. Rural women lived at the mercy of the planters and the world market (p. 76). Despite these strictures, women were able to reproduce themselves outside of the plantation. Chamberlain embraces what she describes as the "moral economy"—a buffer between planters and laborers. Women were chief guardians of this moral economy. Chamberlain claims that "lawlessness" and praedial larceny could be considered a collective political response to what was a violation of the moral order on the part of the planters and their agents (p. 89). The moral economy took much of the edge off harsh conditions at the time and served as a strategy of survival. For Chamberlain, this strategy explains why deplorable conditions did not always lead to rioting in Barbados, where people explored other available options.

The book's strength is its analysis of the system of race relations in Barbados, demonstrating the deep-seated racism of the time. So pervasive was this racism that it was often experienced as normal. Chamberlain concludes that the racial "rupture in Barbados required suturing if a nation was to be created" (p. 111). *Empire and Nation-building* also provides some historical background to the cultural life of Barbados, and the role played by the development of the arts in the creation of the nation. In this regard there is a useful discussion about the contribution of a fledgling theater guild and *BIM* magazine, which provided an outlet for budding writers, not just in Barbados, but also in the rest of the Caribbean.

The import of this work is at times marred by inattention to detail. For example, on three occasions, Chamberlain refers to Hugh Springer as Huw Springer, and she describes Hubert Harrison as a St. Croixian instead of a Crucian. She notes that Barbadians became less enthusiastic about Federation because they feared attracting migrants from "smaller islands" such as St. Lucia. St. Lucia is actually bigger than Barbados. Chamberlain also refers to Errol Barrow as the premier of the newly independent country of Barbados, not the prime minister. But perhaps the most egregious error is to mistake Derek Walcott, the St. Lucian Nobel Laureate (p. 178), for Frank Walcott, the well-known Barbadian trade union leader.

Empire and Nation-Building in the Caribbean is an attempt to analyze a familiar narrative using a different approach. In some cases the project achieves its desired objective, while in others, its realization is a bit more illusive.

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Jolien Harmsen, Guy Ellis & Robert Devaux

A History of St Lucia. Vieux Fort, St Lucia: Lighthouse Road Publications, 2012. xvi + 438 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Interspersed with photographs, *A History of St. Lucia* gives an account of the island from about 400BC to the death of Prime Minister John Compton in 2007. Covering such a time frame, it is small wonder that the work required the collective knowledge of three authors using archaeology, written sources, and oral history. To improve our understanding of St. Lucia, arguably one of the least researched West Indian islands, Jolien Harmsen teams up with two St. Lucians—Guy Ellis, a journalist, and Robert Devaux, a local historian-conservationist-field engineer. Only Henry Breen (1805–81) has ever attempted a similar task, using material at hand during his lifetime (Breen [1844] 1970).

The authors discuss the Amerindians' decline during alternate French and British occupations of the island. Supposedly neutral until the 1763 Treaty of Paris, the essentially French inhabitants from Martinique, Grenada, and St. Vincent enslaved ever larger numbers of Africans in St. Lucia, first growing coffee, cocoa, and cotton, and later sugar. At the juncture of successive British or French handovers, the ensuing chaos was conducive to swell the runaway slave population. St. Lucia felt the full effects of the French Revolution and most estates were abandoned by 1793. An invasion by the British then fueled four years of resistance by "*l'armée française dans les bois*" (the Brigands, made up of slaves and a few whites and free coloreds). The British reinstated slavery when they won that war in 1798, and after being returned to France in 1802–03, St. Lucia was ceded to Britain for good in 1814.

Chapters are devoted to the plight of African slaves, as well as postemancipation indentured laborers mainly from Africa and Asia, and the way they enriched the cultural landscape. Details highlight a unique past: the way John Jeremie improved the condition of slaves and free coloreds, and the way Martiniquan slaves sought refuge in St. Lucia. Others explain sugar's decline in the late nineteenth century, and the migration of thousands to work on the Panama Canal, or to French Guiana to try their luck in the gold rush. At that time the island's capital, Castries, was used as a naval coaling port for a short period which provided the population with employment. However, for the majority of St. Lucians, the early twentieth century was no more prosperous than previous decades, and although some St. Lucians enrolled in the British West Indies Regiment, many more struggled to grow bananas. World War II saw the building of two American army bases, one guarding France's gold reserves secretly stored in Martinique, the other protecting the Panama Canal. During the war,

many St. Lucians lost their lives on Europe's battlefields; others were killed by U-boat torpedoes in Castries harbor.

The authors explain how the formation of unions prior to the wartime boom made it possible for workers and the unemployed to later voice their discontent. Bananas finally provided the jobs so many needed, allowing the working class to move up the social ladder, while emigration and remittances from abroad eased the lives of others. They then trace the decline of British colonialism from failed West Indian federalism, through associated statehood, to independence in 1979, and detail the role played by the Black Power movement in the island's progression along this "rocky road." They analyze ongoing political confrontation between politicians and intellectuals such as George Odum, John Compton, and Kenny Anthony, to name a few, and discuss environmental degradation, infrastructure improvements, corruption, and tourism's increasing importance.

It is commendable that the writers manage to toe an objective line in discussing St. Lucia's modern history. Separating facts from allegations in such a political landscape requires careful phrasing. Likewise they show that in spite of its size, St. Lucia played a major role internationally during World War II, in the use of Castries as a coaling station, and in being, for centuries, *the* strategic West Indian colony which both the English and the French so wished to possess. Constant sacrifice by a population in its quest for self-determination is ever present, visible in the caves and tunnels built by runaway slaves (Devaux 1997), or in the bid of planters to be independent of Martiniquan tribunals and bypass its ports to trade directly with France.¹ One wonders whether the island's accordion-like development and its persistent lack of administrative guidance did not create a national psyche so powerful that it bestowed an ingrained determination to achieve, giving rise to the likes of Nobel Laureates Sir Arthur Lewis and Derek Walcott.

The main criticism of the book is a lack of careful editing. Examples include italics and quotation marks for prose that is not systematically footnoted, the lack of footnotes 704–707 (pp. 412–413), references to leisure tourism circa 1700 (p. 27), and errors in French syntax (pp. 26, 121). Inconsistencies include the mention of towns in the 1720s but not in 1744 (pp. 29, 34). Maps are needed to assist readers in understanding local geography as well as the island's situation in the Antillean chain. Also, errors in certain historical details reduce the

1 de Laborie to de Castries April 2, 1788. Projet d'une association coloniale pour un commerce direct entre Ste. Lucie et la métropole, November 28, 1788. Archives nationales d'outre-mer ANOM, C10^C4; C10^C7; C10^C8.

academic value of the book. Inaccuracies include a recurring reference to 1745 inhabitants (pp. 35, 41) even though such details could only have been retrieved from censuses dated 1756–60;² there are no St. Lucian parish records of free colored men marrying white women during slavery (p. 99);³ sugar-refining drips and cones are seemingly mistaken for hogsheads (pp. 37–39); and Irish in the French Caribbean were not British army deserters (p. 30) but arrived after Cromwell's campaigns, with still others emigrating to Roman Catholic France after fighting against the English, their departure to Europe colloquially known as the "Flight of the Wild Geese."

Knowing that St. Lucia was predominately French for centuries, we sense that still too little research incorporates French archives. Nevertheless, *A History of St. Lucia* remains a valiant attempt to share the island's history with interested readers.

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² *Revue des compagnies* of 1756, 1758, 1759 and 1760. Archives nationales d'outre-mer ANOM, DPPC.G.1.506, N°32.

³ Marie-Jeanne-Nicolas Larché *née* Henry was a free colored like her husband; so was Rose Despujols. St. Lucia Roman Catholic parish registers, Carénage, N° 716, April 10, 1774; N° 1001, December 15, 1777. Centre historique des archives nationales, Paris CHAN, 5Mi 101.

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Becoming Belize: A History of an Outpost of Empire Searching for Identity, 1528–1823.
Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. xxii + 425 pp. (Paper US\$50.00)

Assad Shoman

A History of Belize in Thirteen Chapters. 2nd edition. Belize City: The Angelus Press, 2011. xvii + 461 pp. (Paper US\$30.00)

Modern Belize is commonly referred to as a Caribbean nation in Central America. Geographically part of Central America, its English language use and political history make it part of the Anglophone Caribbean, which may explain in part its relative neglect by scholars of both regions. While Mavis Campbell is not correct to state that Narda Dodson's *A History of Belize* (1973) is "the only comprehensive history of Belize written by a trained historian" (p. xiv), she is certainly right to assert that Belizean history "deserves more attention" (p. 4). The enlarged edition of Assad Shoman's 1994 history is a new contribution aimed at filling the gap.

Becoming Belize adds significantly to our understanding of Belize's beginnings. Although Campbell did not investigate Spanish primary sources in Madrid and Seville, she consulted archives in Belize and Jamaica, at British institutions, and, briefly, in Mérida. The book's first section examines Spanish attempts at settling Belize, from about 1528 to 1708. Campbell explores why Belize became British, given the region's history, and revisits early Spanish exploration, including Columbus's 1502 voyage to the Bay Islands of modernity, when he came closest to Belize, and the 1511 shipwreck that left two Spaniards, Gerónimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero, in the Yucatán. Campbell discusses Guerrero as Belize's first European resident, noting that he married locally and fought for his adopted land against alien occupation. Guerrero was a military strategist for Nachan Can, Chetumal's *cacique*, and Campbell's evidence places ancient Chetumal about nine miles from modern Corozal Town in Belize. Later, Campbell notes that Francisco de Montejo, following his 1526 grant to "pacify" Yucatán, passed through all of modern Belize's territory. Montejo founded Nueva Seville (circa 1547–1551). Contiguous with southeastern Belize, only Mérida was then more populous. Montejo's soldier, Alonso Dávila, founded, at ancient Chetumal, Villa Real, which Campbell views as Belize's first Spanish town.

Campbell then describes the history of Tipu, modern Negroman, relying on a book written ca. 1700 by Don Juan de Villagutierre Soto-Mayor, and referencing modern work by Inga Clendinnen, Nancy Farris, Grant Jones, Matthew Restall, and others. She argues that Spain had limited success in its attempts to colo-

nize Belize, due to Mayan resistance and the fact that Maya society involved quasi-independent principalities, unlike the Aztecs' more centralized leadership. Yucatán's lack of gold also dissuaded Spanish settlers.

The book's second section focuses on British Belize, 1708–1823, arguing that the British first settled in Belize in the mid-1500s, on Cay Casina (today's St. George's Caye), and seconding modern scholars who note the lack of early British accounts, absent "because of the clandestine nature of their initial activities and ... the dubious nature of the early characters" (p. 96). George Henderson, perhaps Belize's first "historian," argued that prior to 1763, the English had the "friendly approval" of the Maya. Relations deteriorated only a century later, as the British moved further inland for mahogany. Campbell notes little early British-Maya interaction, but emphasizes the close relationship of the British with the Amerindians of the Mosquito Shore (roughly today's Nicaraguan coast), arguing that Belize would not have survived without them, ending up with the Spanish prevailing. Many settlers on the Mosquito Shore also lived partly in Belize. In crisis times, settlers evacuated to Belize or from Belize to the Shore. For a time, Spaniards viewed attacking Belize as "beneath them." Conditions changed with the 1749 British establishment of civil government on the Mosquito Shore. There had been earlier attacks at Cay Casina (1695, 1696), and the Spanish attacked repeatedly until the mid-eighteenth century. In 1752, Spain announced that slaves fleeing the British would be free, a policy that remained effective until emancipation.

While Spain based its Belizean claim on the 1493 Papal Bull, Queen Elizabeth I argued that the Pope had no authority to so divide up the world, and that unoccupied territory, as the British viewed Belize, could become British. The 1763 Treaty of Paris required the British to demolish Bay forts, and prohibited formal British government there. In 1779, a major Spanish attack at St. George's Caye resulted in its temporary virtual abandonment and for the next several years Belize was "for all intents and practical purposes non-existent" (p. 198). Settlers and several hundred slaves were taken to Bacalar and on to Mérida, Campeche, and Havana. The Treaty of Versailles (1783) noted, for the first time, Belize's boundaries, acknowledged logging rights, and banned government establishment in Belize. Campbell shows how Edward Marcus Despard, Belize's first superintendent, became unpopular as he requested Spanish troops from Bacalar to police illegal logging, and implemented a new land distribution policy which the old established Belizean settlers felt was overly favorable to "mulattos" (p. 231). In 1789, after further tensions with Spain, an attack culminated in the September 10 battle of St. George's Caye. Though Spain had 31 vessels, 2,000 troops, and 500 seamen, the Baymen with their 354 men and small ragtag fleet prevailed in a brief battle, with no settler injured. Campbell rightly

focuses on the heroic actions of the slaves at the battle's frontline, noting that their "prominent participation is probably unprecedented in the history of slavery" in the New World (p. 270).

Campbell suggests that the Spanish attacked then for several reasons. They saw the Jamaican Maroon war and failed British invasion of Haiti depleting British resources and knew there would be no Miskito aid this time. Notably, Spain maintained sovereignty, with Belize gaining colony status in 1862. Nevertheless, post-1798 changes included regular appointments of superintendents to Belize, and fort building. Campbell sees the last Spanish military attack in Belize (1798) as Belize's Waterloo or Hastings, the "defining moment" for modern Belize and proof that the Baymen were weaning themselves from Miskito dependency, whose service as "unpaid imperial mercenaries" (p. 315) had been essential to preserving British Belize. Despite "nascent nationalism" resulting from the battle, the Bay constitutionally remained an "ambiguous British settlement" long after, with "theoretical Spanish sovereignty" (p. 283).

Campbell argues that in the early stages of the logwood industry, slavery was not prominent (p. 114) despite one source's mention of some trafficking in Amerindian slavery, with some sold to Jamaica. A 1720s visitor noted that Belizean cutters' servants were white males. By the early 1790s there were more slaves (about 3,500) than settlers (about 500), and slaves as property became the most important wealth index for the Baymen. Given such numbers, Campbell questions why there was not a large rebellion, noting that it is "indeed extraordinary that hardly any resistance took place" (p. 287), but notes several contributing factors. First, the remote Belizean jungles and numerous cays and islets along the coast may have offered better opportunities for maroons than in island-based slave societies such as Jamaica. Additionally, it may have been more difficult to monitor timber labor than sugar labor as in Jamaica or Haiti. Campbell does note that passive resistance occurred in Belize, such as work slow-downs and displays of lack of respect/insolence. However, she views the four slave revolts described by sociologist Nigel Bolland as "minor" and argues that there is "no record whatsoever" of "general rebellion" in Belize (p. 292). The largest slave revolt (1773) involved about fifty armed rebels, resulting in the deaths of ten whites.

Campbell argues that slavery conditions in Belize were the best in the Caribbean when one considers living space, food, clothes, workload, and punishment. She notes that slaves worked only five days per week, unlike anywhere else in the hemisphere. She also details changing conditions for Belize's free coloreds, such as post-Despard rules for property ownership to attend Public Meetings, and different residency/monetary requirements for voting. Although "the Belize slave system had certain singular features, it was still slavery where

human beings were legally held as property" (p. 324). In describing this "moral horror," Campbell notes the "cruel irony" that by treating their slaves comparatively well, Belizean settlers benefitted financially at slavery's end, when they were compensated for their slave loss based on slave and system productivity. Since Belizean slaves were comparatively healthy, their masters were paid the highest per capita rate in the British Caribbean.

While Campbell's interpretation of slave resistance is bound to be controversial, her focus on the depth and breadth of the Spanish presence in Belize and on the invaluable role of the Miskito Indians for the Baymen offers an important corrective to our understanding of Belizean history. Her book is recommended reading for anyone interested in comparative slavery, native and slave resistance, or nation formation.

Assad Shoman's expansion of his 1994 history of Belize, which is used widely in Belizean schools, may be seen as a potential companion to Campbell's book in that it devotes several chapters to the same historical period. It then focuses on Belizean history until 2008, with some additional coverage of 2011 events. The two authors approach their topic differently—Campbell as a sober-minded outsider, and Shoman as an insider and passionate advocate for social justice who has been intimately involved with Belizean politics. Shoman's book makes an important contribution to the process of nascent nationalism described by Campbell. While not all readers will agree with his often Marxist-inspired, economically-based interpretations, his book offers an excellent synopsis of the history of a seldom examined nation. In preparing his revision, Shoman notes that he sent a letter to all secondary and postsecondary history teachers in Belize, asking for suggestions for improvement, but did not receive a single reply (p. ix). Yet one suspects that both his revised edition and Campbell's book will inspire discussion for a new generation of Belizeans and scholars throughout the region. The issues these two authors raise transcend in many ways narrow political and sociohistorical boundaries.

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Reference

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Kenneth G. Kelly & Meredith D. Hardy (eds.)

French Colonial Archaeology in the Southeast and Caribbean. Gainesville:
University Press of Florida, 2011. vii + 250 pp. (Cloth US\$ 74.95)

This book introduces readers to the potential of archaeology to gather original information on the post-Columbian period in the greater circum-Caribbean region. The contributors' main goal is to explore through historical archaeology the dynamism, the diversity, and the singularities of the French colonies located outside the well-documented North American territories such as Canada or the Great Lakes region (p. 2). To do so, the articles focus on the ways the French diaspora was experiencing life during the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries in various colonial contexts in the present-day United States, French Antilles, and French Guiana. Rather than focusing solely on the French presence, it addresses questions about interactions between people from different cultural backgrounds—European colonists, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans.

This is a pioneering attempt to bring together archaeological information on the French colonial territories of the extended circum-Caribbean area. Although research is regularly realized in the context of CRM (Cultural Resources Management) archaeology or compliance archaeology in the Mississippi Valley, Louisiana, South Carolina, and the French *départements d'outre-mer* of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Guyane, the field reports are difficult to obtain and their results are rarely synthesized in easily accessible media. Thus, this collection dramatically increases our understanding of the colonial circum-Caribbean area by exploring the contribution of France and French colonists in the development of the region. Unfortunately French scientists working in the Lesser Antilles are underrepresented; I propose that they merit another volume in the future.

The book is based on a session of the 2004 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology chaired by Kelly and Hardy. Their introductory chapter discusses the contexts of French colonization in the Americas as well as the state of research in historical archaeology on this subject. In Chapter 2, Ellen Shlasko looks at the way the French Huguenots and enslaved Africans adapted and maintained their identities within the development of South Carolina society by, among other things, their architectural traditions. Chapter 3, by Sarah Rivers-Cofield, investigates the relationship the refugee planters from Saint-Domingue maintained with their slaves, as well as the difference between French and American plantations in Maryland. Chapters 4 and 5 explore France's unsuccessful efforts (1720–22) to establish the capital of Louisiana in Biloxi and the precarious condition in which the colonists were living—

Barbara Hester through the analysis of archaeological data from several sites and Marie Danforth through bioarchaeological analysis.

In Chapter 6, Ann Early sets the table for future archaeological research on the second French-Chickasaw War which took place in the Mississippi Valley during the eighteenth century. Her essay shows the potential for studying multicultural collaboration between Europeans, enslaved Africans, and Native Americans during an armed conflict. Multicultural settings are also the focus of Chapters 7, 8 and 9, which explore intercultural contacts, adaptation, and creolization in colonial Louisiana through the analysis of faunal remains (Elizabeth Scott & Shannon Dawdy), the colonoware ceramic production (David Morgan & Kevin MacDonald), and foodway systems (Meredith D. Hardy). Moving further south, Chapters 10 (Kenneth G. Kelly) and 11 (Allison Bain, Réginald Auger & Yannick Le Roux) focus on plantation contexts and the daily life of enslaved peoples working in production estates in Guadeloupe and French Guiana. In the concluding chapter John de Bry complements each of the essays with additional information coming from the French archival record; this contribution is important in opening up avenues for future research.

In addition to giving information on the French colonization of the Americas and related archaeological contexts, this book explores the colonial experiences of individuals using different research axes and recent theoretical perspectives. It is an important addition to the body of literature of the colonial-period archaeology. The papers shed light on the materialization of various French colonial contexts under themes such as identity, diversity, cultural contact, adaptation, and creolization, topics that are at the forefront of research in historical archaeology today. It is also a great joy to see how almost all the authors insist, with nuance and acuity, on the way the colonial society was formed by interactions among diverse cultural groups, underlining the importance of the "*vivre ensemble*" in a multicultural society.

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